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ICONS MOTHER OF GOD

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ICONS

**THE MOTHER OF GOD
IN THE INCARNATION AND THE PASSION**



FOREWORD

As we know, research on the iconography of the Brepokratousa - the Virgin and Child - in Byzantine and post-Byzantine art, is neither new in conception nor meagre in quantity. Important and complete studies have been made on the subject, leading to decisive conclusions as regards the manner of its approach. Among the exclusive and fundamental studies concerning the origins and evolution of practically all the variants of the type, worthy of particular mention are Kondakoff's well-known and monumental work *Iconography of the Virgin*, Likhachev's *History of Italo-Cretan Painting*, Lazarev's study on the iconography of the Virgin and, since then, the important interpretations of A. Grabar, M. Chatzidakis, D. Pallas and G. and M. Sotiriou - to cite only the older researchers, and those of the previous generations.

The above studies, which concern almost all the iconographic types of the Virgin - from the Hodegetria and the Glykophilousa to the Galaktotrophousa - have provided researchers with answers to many queries while at the same time confronting them with new and more specialised questions.

The present work constitutes one more approach and a new attempt to interpret iconographic expressions of the Virgin and Child by means of a special semeiology which is now related to problems of meaning and particular symbolism.

The aim of this new approach is not to arrive at general conclusions on the subject but to limit itself to certain iconographic forms, representing seven iconographic types in all, of the Virgin and Child, indicative of the prefiguration of the future Passion. Their origin, in most cases, is to be found in the Palaeologan painting of the fourteenth century, and their evolution observed in exceptionally fine specimens of the Cretan painting of the fifteenth. We must point out here that the elaboration of the final phase in the survival and revitalisation of these representations, which are now linked conceptually and morphologically with the Virgin of the Passion, was not a simple process, and that their new form constitutes a further step in the evolution of Palaeologan icon painting, which seems to emanate from inner and solid generative forces; forces which were still potent in the Cretan workshops of the 15th century.

The conclusions which are presented here are the fruit of a long and intensive study of the form and meaning of the iconographic type of the Virgin and Child, and have already been partially presented in papers or previously published. Portions of the latter are included in this work.

The plan of the book is determined by seven introductory studies corresponding to seven iconographic types, five of which concern variants of the Glykophilousa, while the other two refer to particular iconographic representations of the Hodegetria. The introductory notes are accompanied by special references related to eighty-seven representative examples of icons dealing with the same iconographic theme.

Finally, I should like, at this point, to express my thanks to my mentor and guide in the research of the icon, M. Chatzidakis, without whose invaluable treatises on the subject this research could not have been complete, to Professors M. Economides, A. Cutler and H. Maguire, for their help and support in this effort of mine, in the summer of 1993 at Dumbarton Oaks, to Natalie Teteriatnikov for facilitating my access to the photographic archives of Dumbarton Oaks, to A. Alexakis and Sherry Lee for their cooperation in choosing the patristic texts, to the director of Dumbarton Oaks, Angela Laiou, for affording me the possibility of obtaining this cooperation, as well as to all the members and staff of this institution.

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Chrysanthé Baltoyianni

Introduction

The phenomenon of the ascending course of art, and especially of painting, in the Palaeologan era, in contrast to the "progressive decline and impoverishment"¹ and essential "decomposition" of the Byzantine state in the 14th century - conditions which prefigure the sad historic fate and definitive subjugation of Byzantium to the Turks in the 15th - has already been seriously studied and researched.

The extraordinarily delicate and refined figures of Constantinopolitan painting, the diaphanous faces and richly draped airy garments, moving against a complex and luxurious architectural background - as they are rendered in the mosaics and frescoes of the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii) and as they survive in later regional monuments - do not seem to have been influenced by the 'constant and inevitable decline'² and the 'incessant internal crises'³ of the now weak and shrunken Empire.

Nevertheless, the crisis of this time does seem to exert a considerable influence on the iconography, which does not appear to remain untouched by the pessimistic attitude and position of the Byzantines as regards their survival as a people and as a culture. Already, since the beginning of the 14th century, may be detected in the choice of themes, as much in the frescoed programmes as in the mosaic decoration of churches, the first indication of an eschatological mood, which pursues a parallel course to the melancholy conclusions and worrisome forebodings expressed by the intellectual leaders of Byzantium.⁴

In the Capital itself, important edifices such as the Parekklesion of the Pammakaristos Monastery and the Parekklesion of the Chora Monastery are funerary monuments. The entire iconographic programme in the marvellous mosaic decoration of the Pammakaristos Monastery is marked by a particular application of certain themes related to the special character of the edifice. As has been noted,⁵ the programme is complemented by a particular selection of inscriptions on the scrolls of the prophets surrounding the Pantocrator on the dome, which refer to the Last Judgement. More obvious are the elements in the funerary iconography of the Parekklesion of the Chora Monastery in which the relative scenes, that of the Last Judgement,⁶ for instance, are particularly stressed, the latter covering, with the multitude of its episodes, the entire surface of the sanctuary apse. The theme, which naturally integrates itself into the iconography of the funerary chapel, is here particularly highlighted, as regards the position in which it is placed, and extensively developed as regards the thematology. However, a funerary atmosphere is also observable in the programme of mosaics decorating the narthexes of the Chora Monastery.⁷ It is worth noting here that the representation of the Massacre of the Innocents, which, as we have endeavoured to interpret it in the present work, constitutes one more scene prefiguring the future Passion of the Infant Christ, is rendered in the exonarthex of the Chora Monastery in great detail.⁸ The numerous episodes of the scene extend from the face of the south wall to the three arched compartments on the southern side of the west wall. The same representation, carrying the same meaning, is painted, at this time, in the central nave of the Metropolis of Mystra,⁹ among the scenes from the New Testament which include scenes of the Passion.

Among the representations adorning edifices of the beginning of the 14th century, interesting is the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents which is depicted in the central nave of the Church of the Virgin of Kritsa,¹⁰ in Crete, as well as the fresco representing the same scene in the Church of St. Nicholas of Xydias,¹¹ which has also been dated to the first half of the 14th century. The theme, which seems to recede later, survives, nonetheless, in edifices of the third quarter of the same century which are directly dependent on Constantinopolitan painting. Among the most important and loveliest examples of this type is the complex Massacre, embracing a great number of figures, which adorns the small dome of the southern portico - converted into a funerary chapel - of the Hodegetria of Mystra.¹² It is interesting to note that this funerary theme, as is proven by its po-

sition here, is rendered with extraordinary delicacy and employing the means of Constantinopolitan painting, which tests its capabilities increasingly on themes of the Passion. Particularly advanced is the development apparent in the cycle of the Passion, which characterises the iconography of the period, and which, thus formulated, is handed down to the 15th century.

The insistence of Palaeologan painting on such themes is not a unique phenomenon, but follows a parallel course in literature and especially in the hymnography of the time, which is now enriched with new laments on the Passion of Christ.¹³ Frequent, too, are the references to the Passion in the Homilies, the Laments and the Kontakia of George of Nicomedeia, of Symeon the Metaphrast and of Romanus the Melodist,¹⁴ the beloved hymnodist of the period. From the 15th century on, laments on the fall of cities become more numerous, and contain frequent allusions to the Passion. The terror and grief expressed in the verses of this kind composed by popular versifiers also pervade the poetry of erudite writers such as John Eugenicus, in whose monody *"On the Fall of the Great City"*, the calamity of the fall is described as so great that the sun could not but be darkened, as it had been in the hour of the Crucifixion.¹⁵

This feeling is conveyed in the Palaeologan painting of the time by means of the old Byzantine themes which now, however, are particularly stressed and developed in a correspondingly heavy atmosphere, as much in the great and refined art of Constantinople and its dependent centres, as in the more provincial and popular style of the periphery. In either case, the themes of the Passion, although treated perhaps in a different pictorial manner, lead nonetheless and refer to common iconographic sources.

Timidly expressed, this tendency appears in the more classic monuments of the beginnings of the 14th century, as for instance in the frescoes of the Church of Christ in Verria,¹⁶ where the scenes of the Passion are introduced into the series of the dodekaorton, enriched with particular elements and episodes, such as Jesus before the High Priest and Pilate, the Christ Helkomenos (the Way to Calvary), the Ascent to the Cross. In the decorative scheme of St. Nicholas Orphanos¹⁷ in Thessalonike, new scenes are added, which form a complete cycle, beginning with the Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet, and followed by the Agony in the Garden, the Betrayal, Christ before Caiaphas and Pilate, the four episodes of the Denial, the Mocking, the Helkomenos (the Way to Calvary), the Ascent to the Cross. Similar applications may be observed in the Monasteries of Mount Athos - the Protaton,¹⁸ Vatopedi,¹⁹ Chilandari,²⁰ in the last of which an interminable Lamentation covers the walls of the apse of the north nave. The same practice is evident - in an exaggerated form and with particular emphasis on the dramatic elements - in the churches of Michael and Eutychios Astrapas, in which the number of scenes varies according to the space available.

Of the later monuments, a characteristic example of the insistence on this tendency is offered by the great cycle of the Passion adorning the Peribleptos of Mystras,²¹ while in a similar manner are rendered also the same scenes on the western vault of the church of the Theoskepastos in Trebizond.²² During the 15th century, and as the fateful date of the Fall of the City approaches, the widened cycle of the Passion marks the frescoed programmes of smaller provincial churches, such as those of Rhodes²³ and Crete.²⁴

The spirit of the times could not fail to express itself also in the painting of the icon. Thus, at the same time, similar themes are depicted here, too, fittingly adapted to the demands of portable icons. Bypassing, of necessity, a great number of important and valuable works of Palaeologan art representing scenes of the Passion, we shall dwell at greater length on the Cretan icon painting of the fifteenth century, which constitutes a continuation of Palaeologan art beyond the borders of the metropolis, and to which belongs the greater part of the icons of the Virgin and Child presenting elements alluding to the Passion, under examination here.

The Cretan workshops of the fifteenth century also apply themselves to representing scenes of the Passion, following the Palaeologan patterns, but varying them with elements proper to the theme, borrowed from Western iconography.

Interesting, from this point of view, and indicative of the Cretan style of the fifteenth century, are icons representing the Last Supper, such as the icon of the Loverdos Collection, Α186-ΣΑ185,²⁵ and the Last Supper in a private collection in Athens,²⁶ which constitutes a particularly important specimen of Cretan painting. The iconography of the portable icon, at this time, could not fail to include the scene of the Agony in the Garden, represented by important works, among which stands out - on account of the early date of its creation and its extraordinary workmanship - the icon of the Museum of Bologna.²⁷ Of the Italo-Cretan themes chosen out of the thematology of the Passion we should mention particularly the refined representation of Christ Helkomenos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York,²⁸ signed by the well-known Cretan painter of the second half of the 15th century, Nikolaos Tzafouris. To the same Italo-Cretan circle belongs the icon of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, No. T2638 of the Byzantine Museum in the composite representation of the Franciscan JHS, signed by Andreas Ritzos,²⁹ as well as the Crucifixion, with its multitude of figures, belonging to the National Gallery of Athens and signed by another well-known Cretan painter of the fifteenth century, Andreas

Pavias.³⁰ Familiar to us from Italo-Cretan icons of the same century is the scene of the *Noli me tangere* as it is represented in the icon of Venice,³¹ in that of Zakynthos,³² and in that of the Ekonomopoulos Collection,³³ now in the Museum of Byzantine Civilisation in Thessalonike.

Other important Cretan icons represent the Lamentation,³⁴ and a scene very often repeated by all the workshops of the fifteenth century is the particularly indicative representation of the Passion which is that of the Akra Tapeinosis (The Man of sorrows).

Not excepted from the rule are the joyous episodes of the earthly existence of Christ, which are now marked with more obvious elements of the Passion. Particularly interesting from this point of view is the Nativity of the former Volpi Collection (pls. 115-117), in which amid the jubilant atmosphere of the event, and in an idyllic setting in which the angels laud the glory of God in the highest and proclaim his good will towards men, a large and terrible sword, starting from the heavenly dome and ending with its point directly above the manger of the newborn Christ, foretells as clearly as can be his future Passion. In the same representation, the newborn Child is shown wrapped in his swaddling bands with the thin vertical stripes, lying in a rectangular marble manger, in the shape of a sarcophagus decorated with a carving in relief on its long sides. Both the swaddling clothes of the infant Christ and the manger have been connected to the funerary winding sheets and to the sarcophagus of the Entombment;³⁵ complemented now by the sword, the allusion becomes even more explicit.

Elements of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross have been noted also in the iconography of the Presentation in the Temple, as it is portrayed in the fifteenth century by the Cretan workshops. The terrified look of the Child in the arms of the aged Simeon, his naked leg, or legs - crossed or not - and his upturned sole, have all been linked to his future sacrifice.

As regards the representation of the Massacre of the Innocents, which we have linked to the funerary iconography of the period, no specimens have survived - so far as we know - of such a representation in portable icons, and its semantic content seems to have been transferred to the representation of the Virgin Glykophilousa known under the epithet of "the Kardiotissa", which is morphologically connected with the Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents.

Another expression of the iconography of the Passion, in the painting of the icon in the fifteenth century, is undoubtedly that conveyed by the Virgin and Child, the iconographic types of which now assume the form of a Virgin of the Passion. First is created and adopted the Cretan representation of the Virgin of the Passion, which had already been tentatively applied under another form in the twelfth century in the mural decoration of the church of Araka in Cyprus.³⁶ Established now, the new conventionalised type showing the Virgin, in half length, accompanied by two angels on either side of her halo premonitorily presenting the symbols of the Passion, is painted by the Cretan workshops of the fifteenth century in a series of reproductions varying in certain small details from one another. The old semantic elements and external symbols of the Passion, combined with other later features now seem to constitute an iconographic code of the Passion, which is applied to other representations of the Virgin, such as the Glykophilousa (Virgin of Tenderness) and the Hodegetria. We have decoded and interpreted here the upturned sole of the Child's foot, which is a feature of most of the representations of the Virgin and Child, his bare leg, which is applied almost without exception in an iconographic type of the Glykophilousa, his crossed legs - bare or not - his loosened sandal, the golden-green sash which is wound around the Christ Child in a variant of the Hodegetria, and the pleated band which encircles the Child's waist, combined with the two golden-red decorative bands coming down from his shoulders. All the above features, in conjunction with the sorrowful expression of the countenances, are identified, in great part, with elements of the Passion - an identification, moreover, which is further supported and interpreted by patristic texts, in which the particular significance of these elements is implied.

The Virgin Glykophilousa, as well as the variant of the Hodegetria showing the upturned sole of the Child's foot, from which often hangs - as in the Virgin of the Passion - the loosened sandal, have also been linked to the Passion, and especially to the Betrayal of Judas. It is to this Betrayal - as is attested also by interpretative texts - that Christ alludes when, after the Washing of the Feet, he speaks of the disciple who "hath lifted up his heel" against him.

The half-reclining figure of the Child in the arms of the Virgin, with his face close to her own and his hand under her chin (an attitude and movement which have been connected to the similar iconography of the Christ Anapeson, as it appears already in the ninth century in the Utrecht Psalter) is pictured also in a series of representations of a variant of the Virgin Glykophilousa, which is examined here from the same point of view. To the same representation is applicable the interpretation of the pleated girdle, worn in that variant by the Christ Child, as well as the two large decorative bands coming down from the shoulders, which have now been related to the descent of Christ from the house of David, with reference to the iconography of the Anapeson.

On the other hand, the feature of the bare leg of the Child, which is faithfully followed in a variant, once

again, of the Glykophilousa, and whose origin is Palaeologan, has now been connected to the depiction of the Presentation, in which the same iconographic detail is shown in the portrayal of the infant Christ in the arms of Simeon. The interpretation offered links the iconography of the Child of the Presentation to the sacrifice of the paschal lamb of the Jews on the eve of their exodus from Egypt, in commemoration of which Mosaic Law prescribed that the firstborn male child be dedicated to the Temple, as was the case of the Infant Christ on the day of his Presentation.

Also connected with the semeiology of the Passion has been the portrayal of the Virgin Glykophilousa, showing the Child's hand in that of his mother, which refers us to the same iconographic detail in the Descent from the Cross, a detail already used in the Byzantine era and established in the mural schemes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Not many examples of the depiction of the Descent from the Cross on portable icons of the fifteenth century have survived. It is probable that the interest in the theme receded as the more concise and monumental representation of the Akra Tapeinosis definitely gained preference over it, as did also the variant of the Glykophilousa which retained the iconographic detail of the Child's hand in that of his mother, a familiar element of the Descent.

The gold-threaded *loros* in which the Child is wrapped, as in the swaddling clothes of the newborn Christ in the manger, is also interpreted in the same fashion as connected both with the Babe's swaddling clothes and with the funerary bands of the entombment.

Finally, it is perhaps the first time that has been attempted an interpretation of the iconographic type of the *Madre della Consolazione*, which again has been linked to the meaning of the Passion. We examine here the origins of the type which may be pinpointed in a Palaeologan fresco of a now ruined church in Trebizond, on which is inscribed the epithet ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ Η ΠΙΟΝΟΛΥΤΡΙΑ - the Virgin Reliever of Pain.

1. Laiou 1991, p. 283.
2. Chatzidakis 1979, p. 444.
3. Chatzidakis op. cit.
4. Sevchenko 1961, pp. 170-186.
5. Mouriki 1978 (see Belting, Mango, Mouriki 1978), pp. 54, 70.
6. Underwood 1966, 1, pp. 199-212.
7. Babić 1969, pp. 170-172.
8. Underwood op. cit., pp. 98-104.
9. Chatzidakis 1956, p. 42.
10. Chatzidakis 1952, p. 60.
11. Chatzidakis op. cit., p. 67.
12. Chatzidakis 1956, p. 67.
13. Alexiou 1974. Alexiou 1975, pp. 111-140. Bouvier 1976.
14. Maguire 1981, σ. 91 κ.ε.
15. The monody is to be found in cod. Suppl.gr. 678 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, f. 115-118. See. NE, E', p. 219.
16. Pelekanides 1973, pp. 13, 43, 46, 53, pls. 24, 25, 26, 27.
17. Tsitouridou 1986, pp. 109-127.
18. Millet 1927, pls. 19.1, 20.1-2, 21.1-2, 22.1-3, 23.1-2, 24.1-3, 25.1-3, 26.1-2, 27.1-3.
19. Millet op. cit., pls. 86.2, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92.1, 93.1.
20. Millet op. cit., pls. 68-73.
21. Chatzidakis 1956, pp. 77-78.
22. Talbot-Rice 1936, pp. 50-58, pls. XXI, XXII, XXIII.
23. Kollias 1991, pp. 243-260.
24. See Ag. Pelagia at Apano Vianno (1360) (Gerola 1905-1932, II, p. 346). Ag. Triada Rethymnon (14th c.) (Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis 1983, pl. 74). Ag. Ioannis, Ag. Triada, Rethymnon (1411) (Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis op. cit. ill. 247). Ag. Onufrios at Kardamniana (1329-1330) (Gerola op. cit., IV, no. 7, p. 495). Kouneni (14th c.) (Chatzidakis 1952, pp. 68-69). Ag. Apostoloi at Andromyli (1415) (Gerola op. cit., IV, p. 585, no. 10). The Archangel Michael at Kamiliana (1440) (Gerola op. cit., IV, p. 516, no. 20). Archangel Michael in Seli (1411) (Gerola op. cit., IV, p. 474, no. 9). The Ag. Phanourios at Valsamonero (1407-1431) (Chatzidakis 1952, p. 72 and elsewhere).
25. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1946, no. 186.
26. Unpublished.
27. Vassilaki 1991, pp. 65-76, with earlier bibliography.
28. *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no. 52, pp. 211, pl. 52 (Kalas).
29. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1991, pp. 110-117, ill. 5-19.
30. Xyngopoulos 1957, p. 173 ff., pl. 48.2. Chatzidakis 1974a, pp. 188-195, pl. KA' 1-2. Kreidl-Papadopoulos 1970, ill. 41. N. Chatzidakis 1983, no. 20.
31. Chatzidakis 1962, no. 96, pl. VII.
32. Chatzidakis 1967, p. 27, pl. 44b. *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1986, no. 135, p. 133, ill. 135 (Vokotopoulos).

33. Baltoyanni 1985, no. 22, pl. 15.
34. See the Lamentation at the Tomb in the icon of the Recklinghausen Museum (N. Chatzidakis 1982, no. 4, ill. 4) and the icon on the same theme in the Ecclesiastical Museum of Thera (Georgopoulou-Verra) 1975, p. 335, pl. 230. *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη* 1986, no. 126, p. 124, ill. 126 [Acheimastou-Potamianou]).
35. Maguire 1977, p. 137-140.
36. G. Sotiriou 1953-54, A', pp. 87-91.



Christ the Lamb in a variant of the Virgin Glykophilousa

This iconographic type presents the Virgin in a familiar variant of the tender Glykophilousa, embracing the Child with both arms. This variant is defined mainly by the characteristic iconographic element by which it is recognised, that is the bare left leg of the Child (pl.1).

The representation, encountered in a whole series of 15th-century icons, bears semeiological elements foreshadowing the future sacrifice of the newborn Christ, and constitutes yet another version of the Virgin of the Passion among those established in 15th-century Cretan painting. The Virgin is always depicted in half length, holding the Child on her left, her face very close to the face of the Child, who nestles fearfully in her arms. She is clad in the mourning maphorion, which is closed all the way up to the base of the neck and is edged with a gold band and a gold fringe below the shoulder. The Christ Child wears the grey-blue sleeved chiton which is usually adorned with gold florets characteristic of this iconographic type and a brightly-coloured himation which covers only his right shoulder, falling about his waist, and revealing the whole of his left side, covered in the richly draped chiton. His gaze is turned towards the Virgin, whose own intense gaze is directed far beyond the viewer. In both his hands, on a diagonal axis, and resting on his knees, he holds a rolled-up scroll usually tied with a crimson ribbon. His left leg is always bare.

Among the most interesting examples of Cretan 15th-century icons, as regards the origin and development of this iconographic type, we might cite: the icon in the church of the Prophet Elijah, in the Chora of Naxos⁵ (pl.5), which we have attributed to the well-known 15th-century Cretan artist Angelos; the Virgin of the Gouvernetto Monastery (pl.8); the extremely interesting icon in a private collection in Rome³ (pl.2) - a work of the equally famous Cretan painter Andreas Ritzos; the icon on the same theme of the Kalograion Monastery, in Kalamata⁴; the particularly well preserved icon of the Berat Museum⁵ (pl.16); three icons of the Likhachev Collection⁶ now in the Hermitage Museum, and the Virgin of the church of St. Nicholas at Rijeka in Dalmatia⁷. To the same series also belong: the small icon of the Ekonomopoulos Collection⁸ (pl.11), now in the Museum of Byzantine Civilisation in Thessalonike, two Syracusan icons⁹; the icon — particularly important

because of the early date of its execution — in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire of Geneva¹⁰, and two icons auctioned at Sotheby's in London in February 1984 (Cat. No.167) and November 1985 (Cat. No.202). To the list of these important icons must be added that of the Malcove Collection at the University of Toronto¹¹, the Virgin of Blacherna in Cephalonia¹² (pl.19), the icon of the Ecclesiastical Museum of Mytilene¹³ (pl.9), the Glykophilousa of the Sekulić Collection¹⁴, the lovely Berlin icon, the unpublished Sinai icon (fig.1), the small icon belonging to a private collection in Athens (pl.13), and the small icon, of a later date, in the Tsakyroglou Collection (pl.18). Among the icons in this long list, the representation of the Virgin in the Naxos icon by Angelos, those in the icons of the Gouvernetto Monastery, of Cephalonia, Rijeka and Sinai, are complemented by two half-length angels portrayed in attitudes of worship, with their hands covered by their himation. The same angels - in medallions this time - are shown on the icons of Berlin and Rome. In many of these which all happen to belong to the second half of the 15th century, the haloes, particularly that of the Virgin, are adorned with a punched foliate scroll with flowers in its volutes.

Interpretative notes on the representation

The iconographic type of the Glykophilousa with one of the Child's legs bare was established, as has already been mentioned, by the Cretan workshops of the 15th century, most probably following Palaeologan models. The best-known Palaeologan example with the bare leg of the Child emphasised is the partially surviving representation in the icon of the Pushkin Museum¹⁶ (ill.2), which dates from the 14th century. The Virgin is also portrayed as a Glykophilousa, but in a complex and not repeated form, which appears to originate from a Palaeologan theme having a close affinity - in semantic terms as well - with the Christ Anapeson¹⁷. The Child, half-reclining in his mother's arms, appears to be thinking, with the forefinger of his left hand on his face, which is now turned towards the viewer. Here his bare leg rests on the downward-facing closed hand of the Virgin, which at the same time appears to be grasping the edge of her son's draped himation.

We shall not consider the painting of the Pushkin Museum as a precursor of the form of our Glykophilousa, despite the features it has in common with our representation, and in particular with the main iconographic device of the type: the Child's bare leg. We believe that it constitutes an iconographic parallel of the Glykophilousa with closely related meanings, which are also linked to the future Passion of Christ, albeit seen from a different angle.

It is obvious that the iconographic rendering of the Child in our representation, in contrast to that of the painting of the Pushkin Museum, is related to Byzantine models, which indicate the significance of the Lamb and its prefigurative character in the sacrificial crucifixion of Christ.

The oldest iconographic example of Christ the Lamb in the arms of his Mother is the mural representation of the Virgin Arakiotissa at Lagoudera in Cyprus¹⁸, which has been dated to the end of the 12th century. Christ, here too with one leg bare, is lying in the arms of the Virgin, also portrayed here as a Glykophilousa. The entire representation, which, as we know, is complemented by two angels bearing the symbols of the Passion, has been considered as the earliest iconographic expression of the Virgin of the Passion.

The Cyprian Virgin Arakiotissa, painted on the eastern section of the south wall of the main church, has been linked¹⁹ iconographically and semantically to the representation on the eastern section of the opposite north wall, showing Simeon in the Presentation holding Christ in his arms. Here both legs of the Child are bare. Next to Simeon is shown St. John the Forerunner with an open scroll, on which, in disproportionately large capital letters, are written his well-known prophetic words: ΙΑΕ Ο ΑΜΝΟC ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ Ο ΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ("Behold the lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world") - which refer to Christ the Lamb and to his sacrifice on the Cross.

The correlation of the above two representations has given us a unique and ingenious formula of the Presentation in which, as has also been noted elsewhere, the meaning of the sacrificial lamb is particularly emphasised²⁰.

However, the feature of Christ's bare legs in the semeiology of the sacrifice of the Lamb, with its prefigurative meaning of the future Passion of the Child, has been proved to be even older. Perhaps the earliest depiction of the Christ-Child in his mother's arms, with one leg bare, is that which appears in the mural of the Adoration of the Magi in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome²¹. The Virgin is portrayed enthroned and slightly turned towards the left. She is tightly wrapped in her maphorion and holds Christ on her lap. On the right is depicted the

standing figure of Joseph, and on the left the angel leading the Magi to the newborn babe. The Magi have come very close, so that the older one, in front, is already bowing before the Child, as he offers him his gifts. Christ bends forward slightly towards the Magi, and extends his right hand to them. His right leg is bare.

Among the earliest applications, also, of this important feature is the Virgin and Child in the Adoration of the Magi in the London Psalter Add.19.352, f. 92v, dating to 1066 (ill.3a).²² The Virgin here is also enthroned, and holds Christ on her lap; he is slightly turned towards the Magi in a gesture of blessing. The Child's right leg, bent at the knee, is turned backwards, thus impressively displaying his bare, slender and long left leg.

The interpretation of this iconographic detail is made clearer in a related later representation - of the Adoration of the Shepherds this time - in the Akathistos Hymnos of the Tomic Psalter²³ in the Historical Museum of Moscow. There the Virgin is no longer enthroned, but pictured as a Glykophilousa. She is portrayed below the opening of the grotto of the Nativity, with her newborn son lying in her arms, in a representation very closely connected iconographically to the Virgin Arakiotissa in Cyprus. She bends her head low towards Christ and her face tenderly touches his. The fearful Child embraces his Mother with both arms. His left leg, resting on the Virgin's arm, is bare. The manuscript dates from around 1360 and is one of the most beautiful examples of the depiction of the Akathistos Hymnos.

Christ's bare leg in the Adoration of the Shepherds is also used in the Akathistos Hymnos of the Escorial²⁴ manuscript cod. 19, where once again the Virgin is represented as a Glykophilousa below the opening of the grotto. Here, too, she holds the Child in both arms, and his leg is bare. This bare leg now seems particularly impressive, since the Child is tightly wrapped, up to his neck, in his swaddling clothes, and his left leg is the only bare part of his body. The Escorial manuscript has been dated to the 14th century and has been linked, as has the Tomic Psalter, to the Akathistos Hymnos in the Synodal manuscript of the Historical Museum of Moscow²⁵.

As we know, the *Oikos* of the Akathistos Hymnos which relates to the Adoration of the Shepherds reads as follows: "*The Shepherds heard the angels lauding the presence of Christ in the flesh; and hastening towards him as to a shepherd, they beheld him as a sinless lamb*".

It is obvious that the portrayal of the Child here with his one leg bare relates to the semeiology of the representation of Christ the Lamb with reference to the prefiguration of his future Passion and sacrificial death on the Cross. Indeed, in the Christmas service,

reference is always made to the lamb "born on earth... to offer salvation to the world".²⁶

The same meaning of Christ the Lamb is expressed in like manner in depictions of the Presentation, where the Child, in the arms of his mother or of Simeon, is very often portrayed, since Byzantine times, with his legs, or occasionally his one leg, bare. Among the most important representations comprising the iconographically important detail of the bare leg is the Presentation in the fresco of Djanavar Kilisse in Cappadocia, dating from the 11th century.²⁷ Here Christ is still shown lying in the arms of the Virgin, who hands him over to Simeon. Both his arms are extended towards the old man, while only the left, bare leg shows.

The Christ of the Presentation, in his white chiton and with his bare leg expressively rendered, is portrayed in Palaeologan times in the fresco of the Presentation at Peć.²⁸ The complex composition in the church of the Virgin of Peć, which dates from between 1324 and 1332, constitutes perhaps one of the most beautiful examples of the iconographic application of this particular feature.

In Western painting, the feature of the Child's bare leg becomes a common point of reference from the 13th century on, the best-known example of its application being the mosaic of the Presentation in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.²⁹ After that, it appears in a great number of representations of the Virgin and Child.³⁰

In post-Byzantine painting this particular iconographic formula of the Presentation is applied by the Cretan workshops of the 15th and 16th centuries concurrently with the establishment of the type of the Glykophilousa we are examining. Among the most interesting representations relating to the beginnings and development of the former in Cretan painting we might mention the Presentation in the scenes depicted on the frame of the Serajevo³¹ icon - the main theme of which is the Deesis - signed by Nikolaos Ritzos, son of Andreas Ritzos; the same representation in a Cretan 15th-century triptych auctioned at Sotheby's in London in November 1985; the charming representation on the same subject on a panel of a triptych in a private collection in Athens³² (pl.21); the Presentation on a panel of a 16th-century triptych, which has been attributed to Emmanouel Tzanfournaris, and is now in a private collection in Athens (pl.23); the Presentation of Chania³³ (pl.32); the icon in Venice painted by Michael Damaskinos; the icon of the Presentation in Patmos³⁵ also signed by Damaskinos; the beautiful icon in the Monastery of the Virgin Zoodochos Pighi (the Life-Giving Source) in Patmos (pl.29), as well as the Dodecaorton icon in the Zakynthos Museum (pl.25).³⁵ The Presentation is also painted in the same format by

the Cretan artist Theophanes, in the Stavronikitas Monastery of Mt. Athos.³⁷ Of the Cretan artists of the 17th century, we might mention Philotheos Skoufos who has painted the Presentation with the Child's leg bare, in the well-known icon no.T328 in the Byzantine Museum in Athens³⁸(pl.27).

The depiction of the Presentation illustrates St. Luke's narrative in the New Testament (2:22-29), according to which, "*when the days of her purification according to the Law of Moses were accomplished*", Joseph and Mary brought the newborn Christ to Jerusalem "*to present him to the Lord*". There, the "just and devout" Simeon, to whom it had been revealed "*that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ*", hastened to meet him. This New Testament episode is connected to the Law of Moses, according to which the mother of a male child - forty days after his birth, before which time she was considered unclean and was forbidden to enter the temple - was obliged to bring "*for a burnt-offering... a lamb of the first year...and two turtledoves, or two young pigeons*", to the door of the tabernacle and to the priest, who would perform the sacrifice for her purification. Furthermore, according once again to God's commandment to his people, every first-born child was to be dedicated to the Lord, in remembrance of the day when the children of Israel were brought out of Egypt, and of the slaying, on the eve of their departure, of the firstborn children of the Egyptians by the Angel of the Lord (Exodus 13:1-3).

The smiting of the firstborn of the Egyptians on the eve of the exodus of the children of Israel and the commandments given to Moses by God regarding the slaughter of a male lamb of the first year in each Jewish household, with the blood of which they would smear the two side posts and the upper door post of their houses, as well as the instructions regarding its preparation and the parts of the animal to be eaten ("*his head with his legs, and with the purtenance thereof*") are described in detail in chapter 12 (verses 1-12) of the Book of Exodus. Also, God's commandment regarding the dedication of each firstborn child of the Hebrews to God, in remembrance of this event ("*Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb*"), is set down in Exodus 13:1.

It is worth noting, here, that the representation by Theophanes the Cretan, in the Katholikon of the Monastery of the Great Lavra³⁹ preserves the version of the Presentation with the figure of Moses, who appears in bust length above and on the left of the painting, holding an open scroll with the inscription: "*Every male whatsoever openeth the womb will be sancitified unto the Lord*". This inscription paraphrases Exodus 13 and confirms the connection of the Presentation to the dedication of the firstborn of the Hebrews to God, in remembrance of the Passover sacrifice of

the lamb. The portrayal of Moses in the Presentation, holding a scroll, with the same inscription is also referred to by Dionysios of Fourni.⁴⁰

The chapters of the Book of Exodus related to the sacrifice of the lamb and to the dedication of the firstborn children of the Hebrews to the Lord are read at vespers, on the eve of Candlemas, and are interpreted by the relevant texts as prefigurations of the sacrificial crucifixion of Christ. It is in this sense that these chapters are read during the Holy Saturday service as well.

Moreover, the details of the slaughter of the lamb on the eve of the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt are concretely expressed, according to the interpretative texts, in certain particular elements of the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. The exhaustive interpretation of the whole of God's commandment regarding the slaughter of the lamb is made by Cyril of Alexandria,⁴¹ who explains that in this lies the entire significance of the sacrament of the Divine Economy ("his head and his legs, with the purtenance thereof, he commands us to eat, all in all of the knowledge of the mystery against him").⁴²

In Procopius Ghazis' ⁴³ interpretative comments on the same chapter of the Book of Exodus there is a more specific analysis of God's command, in which the eucharistic and soteriological significance of the Melismos, is intimated. Insisting particularly on the legs of the lamb and the participation of the Hebrews in the eating of its members, Procopius believes that here is prefigured the participation of the faithful in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Furthermore, in the Dialogue with Tryphon the Judean, Justin the Philosopher interprets the sacrifice of the lamb as a prefiguration of the Passion of Christ on the Cross, finding in it pictorial similarities as well ("And the lamb which is to be roasted is a symbol of the Passion of the Cross which Christ was to suffer; For the

shape of the spitted Lamb is as that of the crucified Christ").⁴⁴ Ammonios the Elder,⁴⁵ too, interpreting the evangelical words referring to the Crucifixion ("A bone of him shall not be broken"), correlates its significance with the sacrifice of the Passover lamb of the Jews, with reference also to its legs.

Following these indicative clues as to the meaning of this particular iconographic detail of the Child's bare leg - in the Adoration of the Shepherds, which has been linked to Christ the Lamb, as well as in the Presentation in the Temple, where the entrance of Christ into the temple is connected with the remembrance of the Passover sacrifice of the lamb of the Jews - we believe that the use of this feature in the Virgin Glykophilousa, as well, derives from representations which relate to the future sacrifice of Christ the Lamb.

More particularly, as regards the bare left or right leg of the Child in the Adoration of the Shepherds and in the Presentation, as well as in the Virgin Glykophilousa, Gregory the Theologian interprets the point in his 45th Homily, in which special mention is made of the leg of the sacrificial lamb — and what is more, of the left one, which is the one that also appears in the iconography of our Glykophilousa: "And the lamb is chosen not only from among the sheep but also from among the worst kind and those of the left hand... for he is slain not only for the sake of the righteous but also for that of the sinners".⁴⁶

1. Baltoyanni 1982-1983, p.85, fig.6

2. Borboudakis 1975, No.12, pl.12.

3. Unpublished.

4. Provatakis 1976, p.82, fig.33.

5. Unpublished.

6. Likhachev 1906-1908, 1) No.78; 2) No.74; and

3) No.53. Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, 2) p.90, pl.111 A.

7. Mirković 1962/1963, p.296, fig.5.

8. Baltoyanni 1985, no.20, pl. 18.

9. Siracusa Byzantina 1989, 1) fig. 18.; 2) fig.61.

10. Lazović, Frigerio-Zeniou 1985, No.2 pl.2.

11. Campbell 1985, No.342.
12. *Κεφαλονιά, Ένα μεγάλο Μουσείο* 1989, No.84.
13. Vakirtzis 1989, p.222, pl.2.
14. Sekulić Collection 1967, Cat. No. 53 (in Serbian).
15. Wulff, Alpatoff 1925, fig.97. Felicetti-Liebentfels 1956, fig. 110 A.
16. Lazarev 1967, pp.368-369, fig. 497. *Isskustvo Vizanti Sbraniyakh SSSR* 1977, Cat. No.934 (in Russian).
17. Baltoyianni 1991/1992, pp.228-236.
18. A. and J. Stylianiou 1985, p.166, fig.85.
19. Belting 1980/1981, p.130.
20. Baltoyianni "Christ the Lamb and the 'Ενώπιον' of the Law in a Wall Painting of Araka", Special edition, a tribute to the memory of Doula Mouriki, ΔΧΑΕ vol.ΙΣΤ' (in press).
21. Wilpert 1916, IV, fig.161.
22. Der Nersessian 1970, p.38, pl.52, fig.150.
23. Schepkina 1963, pl. LV, I (in Russian).
24. Velmans 1972, p.141, fig.9.
25. Strykowski 1904, p.130, Tsitouridou 1986, pp.145-146.
26. *Μηνιαίον Δεκεμβρίου* (December Hymnal) ed. Apostoliki Diakonia, p.391.
27. Der Jerphanion 1936, II, p.362, pl.III, 206.
28. Petković 1934, p.37, pl. CII.
29. Matthiae 1966, II, fig.177.
30. See Stubblebine 1979, figs Nos. 150, 180, 185, 188, 189, 258, 262, 266, 298, 342, 420, 514, 518.
31. Djurić 1961, No. 52, p.115, pl. LXII. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.182, pl. II¹. Chatzidakis 1977, pl.202.
32. Unpublished.
33. Borboudakis 1975, No.23, pl.23.
34. Chatzidakis 1962, No.40, pl.29.
35. Chatzidakis 1977, No.60, pl.39.
36. Unpublished.
37. Chatzidakis 1986, figs 85 and 109. The same type is painted by Theophanis in 1527 at Aghios Nikolaos Anapafsas of the Meteora (Chatzidakis 1969/1970, p.316).
38. Chatzidakis, *Δώδεκα Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* (undated), fig.8.
39. Millet 1927, pl.119. 5. Xyngopoulos, 1929, pp.328-329.
40. *Ερμηνεία* 1909, p.291.
41. *Γλαφυρά εις Πεντάτευχον*, PG 69, 419.
42. PG 69, 429D. "Κεφαλὴν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐνδοσθίοις ἐπιτάττει φαγεῖν, ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ κατ' αὐτοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν γνῶσιν".
43. PG 87, 569-570.
44. PG 6, 561C. "Καὶ τὸ κελευσθὲν πρόβατον ἐκεῖνον ὁπτόν γίγνεσθαι, τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Σταυροῦ δι' οὗ πάσχειν ἐμελλεν ὁ Χριστός, σύμβολον ἦν. Τὸ γὰρ ὁπτῶμενον πρόβατον σχηματιζόμενον ὁμοίως τῷ σχήματι τοῦ Σταυροῦ ὁπτᾶται".
45. PG 85, 1513 B.
46. PG 36, 641. "Ἐκλέγεται ὁ ἀμνὸς οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρνῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ χειρόνος εἵδους καὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς... ὅτι μὴ ὑπὲρ δικαίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν σφαγιάζεται".

Note: The ancient texts have been rendered by the translator.

1. The Virgin "Η ΕΓΓΑΡΔΥΟΤΙΚΑ"
("Encardiotissa")

Naxos, Chora, Church of the Prophet Elijah

Dimensions: 1.00 x 0.69 m

First half of the 15th century

Plates 5,6.



This icon is set in the iconostasis of the church of the Prophet Elijah in the capital town (Chora) of the island of Naxos. It is on the left of the central sanctuary doors, and on the corresponding position on the right is the icon of the Prophet Elijah¹ which bears the signature of Angelos, the Cretan painter of the first half of the 15th century. On the back can be seen the preparation and traces of a leaf-bearing cross with large foliate scrolls ending in a complex decoration of anthemias. Of the abbreviated inscription which fills in the spaces between the arms of the cross and which stands for the words: Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Νικᾷ (Jesus Christ is victorious) and Τοῦτο τὸ εὖλον δαίμονες φρίττουσιν (At the sight of the Cross the demons shudder), only the letters IC, N, and T can still be made out. On the bottom part of the panel, in the centre, a wooden element is still in place, which probably served to attach the icon to some other object to facilitate its devotional use or to allow it to be carried about during a religious procession.

The icon is covered by a silver 19th-century ornamental sheathing (pl.6), which vaguely follows the iconographic form of the representation and allows only the faces of the two figures to be seen. When this silver sheathing was temporarily taken off during recent restoration work on the icon and the overpainting had also been removed, an important early work of Cretan art was revealed, so that we can now marvel at the bright, warm tones of the flesh of the two figures, their expressions - at once serious and full of life - the bold lines, the solidly constructed forms, and the artist's skill in rendering the type of the Virgin Glykophilousa, with the Child's bare left leg prominently exposed (see the relevant interpretative notes on the significance and origin of this type).

The Virgin is portrayed in three-quarters length, turned to the right and tightly wrapped in her purple maphorion. She holds the Christ Child in both arms and inclines her head deeply towards him, pressing her cheek against his face. The Child sits trustingly in her arms, and holds a closed scroll in both hands, while turning his meditative and sor-

rowful gaze towards her. His childish features, his small, short nose, rounded at the tip, his full, rosy cheeks and sad expression present a close affinity with the sturdy and fearful Child of the Virgin Kardiotissa by Angelos in the Byzantine Museum (plates 54, 55). The Virgin's face, with its expression of reserved and austere grief, is rendered with particular assurance - in terms of early Cretan icon painting - which indicates a competent and skilful painter, who appears to be familiar with the work of Constantinopolitan artists, as applied in a series of works of the later Palaeologan period.

The shaded parts, which are extensive, translucent and bright (in diluted sienna), frame the brighter areas of flesh without tonal gradations and subtle transitions. The edges of the volumes are rendered with bold white brushstrokes in complex shapes and various combinations. Below the deep sinuous lines of the numerous boldly placed lights defining the edges of the cheekbones, begin bunches of parallel white lines which meet at the centre, one starting from the off-white vertical line running parallel to the axis of the nose, and the other from the point of the Virgin's cheek which is pressed against the face of the Child.

The slanting, very narrow and almond-shaped eyes of the Virgin are traced with thin, vaguely-defined outlines. The rendering of the right eye is peculiar, as its outline does not meet on the inside corner, leaving a large opening at that point. The irises are elliptical and transparent and the brownish-black pupils are round and small, giving the gaze intensity and life.

All these elements characterise certain, most probably early, works by the well-known Cretan painter Angelos, who lived and worked on Crete during the first half of the 15th century. Moreover, this very complex pictorial rendering of the Virgin's face, in which predominate the many bright angular - but also quick and well-placed - brushstrokes, characterises the late period² of Palaeologan art, the artistic means of which are also used by Cretan painters of the early period³, among which Angelos⁴ holds a prominent place.

Among Angelos' works in which may be seen the rapid, assured and vigorous delineation of the figures, with the white linear lights painted directly over translucent, broadly-spread underpaint, the Palaeologan ethos and inspired contemplative mood, we would mention the icon of the Prophet Elijah in the church of the same name in the Chora of Naxos (ills. 14, 15),⁵ which bears the artist's signature.

The latter painting, as we have said, is part of the same icon screen in which is set also the icon of our Glykophilousa, and originates from the same

kind of workshop atmosphere as that which is discernible in the Glykophilousa. It has been painted on a similar panel, prepared in a similar way, with a fine gesso preparation, on which traces of a foliate scroll have been preserved. On the bottom part, the same wooden element, in the same shape and size as that on the icon of the Virgin, which we can conjecture was used in some way to facilitate the carrying of the icon in a religious procession, has survived. The stylistic features of this precious work indicate the use of bold artistic means, with which Angelos here appears to be experimenting successfully. The small eyes of the Prophet, the absence of eyebrows, the small mouth, do not appear to contribute to the delineation of the countenance, as they have deliberately been minimised, and the artist's only aim remains the depiction of the biblical presence of the figure, with its thick wavy beard and hair, which have been rendered with numerous wavy white lines. The same purpose is served by the deep lines of the forehead, those around the nostrils and particularly those below the eyes, and they are painted directly over the broad underpaint without modelled bright surfaces and delicate gradations of colouring. The free, bold rendering of the flesh with only the linear lights over the broad planes of the underpaint have also been used in our Glykophilousa, albeit adapted to the entirely different subject and its different pictorial presence.

The kinship between the two icons, which is evident in various details, leads us to believe that they belong to the same period and are products of the same workshop which, as the surviving signature ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ on the icon of the Prophet Elijah indicates, is that of Angelos, the well-known Cretan painter of the first half of the 15th century.

The relation, furthermore, of our icon with Angelos' pictorial means and techniques is also indicated by the close physiognomic and stylistic similarities it presents with a later work of his - the Virgin Kardiotissa of the Byzantine Museum (pl.54) - which bears his signature. Apart from the identical rendering of the facial features of the Child, which we have noted above, and the similarity in the Virgin's face - which, however, is devoid, as yet, of a certain conventionality existing in the latter icon - the kinship of the Glykophilousa of Naxos with Angelos' Kardiotissa is also evident in the entire atmosphere of the work, which is characterised by the same sincerity in the depiction of a deep and meaningful grief as we find in the Kardiotissa.

Yet another connection with the Kardiotissa can be seen in the surname Η ΕΓΓΑΠΔΥΟΤΙΚΑ painted on the left side of the icon over older writing, although we cannot be certain until the completion of the restoration work that the newer text follows the

original accurately. It is obvious that the epithet ΕΓΓΑΠΔΥΟΤΙΚΑ for the Virgin of our icon is a parallel of the epithet "Kardiotissa" which, as we know, accompanies representations of the Virgin and Child in Cretan icons, as also in murals and icons in Naxos and more generally in the islands of the Cyclades.⁶

Lastly, beyond the stylistic and physiognomic similarities, other features, too, connect the Naxos icon with that of the Byzantine Museum, and these relate to the technical means at the disposal of the artist in his workshop. The fine gilding, the rather narrow raised frame which is part of the same panel, and the narrow red border of the lower part indicate at least a provenance from the same workshop.

It is not easy to determine the chronological relationship between the two works. It is obvious, however, that the Naxos Glykophilousa is an earlier work than the Kardiotissa of the Byzantine Museum. Regarding the latter, judging from the clearly defined formalism of its elements, we believe it to constitute a repetition of a well-tried formula in which all the artistic and iconographic problems have already been resolved.

The earlier date of the Naxos icon is perhaps also indicated by the imperfectly formulated and still uncertain epithet ΕΓΓΑΠΔΙΟΤΙΚΑ - still a long way from Angelos' established ΚΑΡΔΙΟΤΗΚΑ, which was reproduced with the same erroneous spelling up until the late post-Byzantine period. This last element - together with the fact that the Prophet Elijah from the same iconostasis also belongs to this early period, and with the certainty that other icons on the island can also be attributed to Angelos - poses the question of a possible professional or other connection of the artist with the island of Naxos.

Bibliography: Baltoyianni 1982/1983, pp.85-86.

1. Drandakis 1964a, p.428, plates 511a-b.
2. See similar rendering in the faces of the figures of the Kalentzicha Virgin (Lazarev 1967, pl.524).
3. See detail of the face of the Virgin in the Deesis of the early 15th century, in the Collection of St. Catherine of the Sinaitic Brotherhood (*Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, pl.157).
4. A characteristic example can be seen in the face of St. John the Forerunner in the Deesis of the Monastery of Viannos, signed by Angelos. See detail in *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, pl.157).
5. Drandakis, op.cit.
6. Mastoropoulos 1983, p.129 ff.

2. Andreas Ritzos The Virgin Glykophilousa

Rome, Private Collection

Dimensions: 0.95 x 0.76 m

Third quarter of the 15th century.

Plates 1, 2, 3, 4.



The icon of Rome, unknown until now, bears traces of the signature of Andreas Ritzos on the back of the panel, and constitutes one of the exceedingly fine examples of 15th-century Cretan painting. It represents the Virgin in the variant of the Glykophilousa in which one of the Child's legs is bare (see interpretative notes on the type), painted here by the well-known Cretan artist who uses here the oldest elements of the conventional iconographic scheme.

The Virgin holds the Christ Child on her left, with his legs "riding" on her right arm. Her left arm encircles his waist, while the tips of her fingers rest gently on his shoulder. Wrapped in her dark purple maphorion, she inclines her body deeply towards the Child and brings her bright and classically beautiful face very close to his. A broad gold band runs along the undulating edges of her head-covering, the dense folds of which fall sideways and to the left, highlighted at the edges with small gold planes. The three gold "stars" of her maphorion over the forehead and on the shoulders are particularly elaborate.

Christ, a grown child, solidly built, with broad shoulders and a strong neck, nestles in his mother's arms and looks up at her with an intensely anxious gaze. He is dressed in a greyish-blue sleeved chiton and a brick-red himation densely streaked with gold, which falls low down on his waist, covering his entire right side from the shoulder and arm to his wrist and right leg. Over his knee there is a bright gold surface which follows the contour of the body underneath.¹ His left leg is uncovered and bare. In both hands, diagonally, he holds a large closed scroll.

The representation is rendered with the use of complex pictorial means, which are known to us both from the works by Angelos and, principally, from the icons by Andreas Ritzos. This combination proves the dependence of the latter on the earlier artist Angelos, who lived and worked in Chandax, on the island of Crete, in the first half of the 15th century.

The luminous faces, rendered here with the fine-

grained and perfectly-elaborated colours of an experienced and rich Cretan workshop of the second half of the 15th century, point to the hand of Andreas Ritzos.² The highlighted triangular planes of the faces, the soft modelling and the tonal gradations, derive from the same artistic code.³ On the other hand, the broad, shaded surfaces of the translucent underpaint of the flesh of the two figures, the sensitively articulated fingers of the Virgin's hand with the large thumb, and the sturdy Child, follow the corresponding rendering of the Naxos Glykophilousa which we have attributed to Angelos (pl.5).

A combination of elements from different periods and workshops can also be observed in particular features of the work, as in the rendering of the Virgin's eyes, which are narrow and almond-shaped, very similar in shape to the eyes of the Virgin Kardiotissa by Angelos in the Byzantine Museum (pl.54), and with the same translucent irises. They differ here in their dreamy expression, as their white background has become larger and is framed by greyish-blue tones. This feature appears in the second half of the 15th century and also characterises the Virgin of the Passion in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence,⁴ signed by Andreas Ritzos. Distinctive features of the work of the same painter are also the heart-shaped lighted planes on the right cheek of the Virgin, which characterise the Virgin of the Passion in the side chapel of St. Christodoulos on Patmos, an icon which has also been attributed to Andreas Ritzos.⁵

The attribution of the icon to Andreas Ritzos is confirmed by an inscription - unfortunately quite badly faded - on the back of the panel, most probably contemporaneous with the painting itself, in which the signature of the artist and the date of execution of the work can be vaguely made out. This inscription is in two lines, in the first of which can be discerned certain letters of the artist's name. The writing is in two parts at that point, and has the form of a signature. In the first part, we can identify the letters A, Δ, and the final S or OY. The second part of the same line is clearer, with at least the first two letters legible, one of which appears to be a P and the other an I which is accented with a large diagonal line - a typical feature of the artist's signature, evidence supported by at least two of his signatures on icons in Patmos. If all of this is indeed so, then the first line of the inscription on the back of the icon gives us the painter's name: ANΔ[PE]OY PI[TZ]OY, with whose technique and artistic means the stylistic features of our icon agree.

Problems are presented also by the equally faded date, in Roman numerals, in the second line of the inscription, as only the last part is clearly legible: CCLXXV and the A(D) of its beginning. In the

spaces which have been created by the deterioration of the wood between the A(D) and the CCLXXV the remaining letters might perhaps fit, which would give us the date AD MMCCCLXXXV, that is 1475, which corresponds to the period in which the painter had reached the height of his artistic skill and maturity. As we know, Andreas Ritzos was already a *pinctor* since 1451,⁶ as is attested by a contemporary document.

Finally, as we know, in 1477 Andreas Ritzos paid Ioannes Akotantos three gold Venetian ducats so that he could keep Angelos⁷ fifty-four cartoons, which were already in his possession, perhaps since the time in which he was painting our icon. The fact that the painter of our icon used a cartoon belonging to Angelos is obvious from the faithful repetition here of the Naxos Glykophilousa which we have attributed to Angelos. This resemblance is moreover

proven also by the stylistic affinity which the icon presents both with the Naxos icon and with the Virgin Kardiotissa in the Byzantine Museum.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. This feature is also present in the icon of the enthroned Christ in Patmos, signed by Andreas Ritzos (Chatzidakis 1977, pl.13).

2. See especially the face of the enthroned Virgin of Patmos (Chatzidakis, op.cit., pl.12).

3. See the same rendering in the Virgin of Patmos (Chatzidakis op.cit.).

4. N. Chatzidaki 1993, No.6, pl. on p.43.

5. Chatzidakis 1977, p.257.

6. Cattapan 1973, po.257.

7. Cattapan op.cit. p.262.

3. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Kalamata, Kalograion Monastery, Sacristy.

Dimensions: 0.50 x 0.385 m

Second half of the 15th century

Pl. 7.



One of the most complete and important works of 15th-century Cretan art, the Virgin of the Kalograion Monastery of Kalamata reproduces the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa with the feature of the bare left leg of the Child, which has been connected conceptually and morphologically with the semeiology of Christ the Lamb in the arms of his mother, and the prefiguration of Christ's future sacrifice (see interpretative note on the type).

In terms of its particular features, also, the representation follows the Glykophilousa in the church of the Prophet Elijah in Naxos (pl.5), which we have attributed to Angelos and which constitutes the oldest example in the series of Cretan icons of this same type. Here, too, the Virgin is depicted to just below the waist, which allows the artist to show the significant detail of the deep curve of the border of her maphorion, in which, as in the Naxos icon, the drape of the edge of the Child's himation amply fits.

In spite of the exact repetition of all the iconographic features of Angelos' Glykophilousa, such as

the sweet embrace of the two figures, the position and attitude of the Child in the arms of his mother and the Child's bare left leg, the painting presents particular stylistic characteristics which indicate a provenance from an important, Cretan workshop, but a later one than that which produced the Naxos icon, and which place it chronologically and from the point of view of workshop techniques very close to the icon on the same subject in the Gouvernetto Monastery in Crete¹ (pl.8). Here have been simplified not only the exceedingly complex means of the Naxos icon, but also particular iconographic solutions which play a determinative role in the quality of the execution of the type, which is perhaps less perfect in this icon owing to the pressures created by the demand for a large output.

Among the important changes which can be observed both in our icon and in the Glykophilousa of the Gouvernetto monastery, is the substitution of the purple colour of the Virgin's maphorion by red lacquer, most probably preferred for the possibilities it offers to create translucencies and highlights. The complex deep folds of the Virgin's head-covering are now fewer and weaker in design. There is no longer a sensitivity to the variety of its forms. The gold band along its edge, rendered indifferently, surrounds the Virgin's face in a more or less uniform way. Absent, or at least less effective, is the detail of the same feature in the Naxos Virgin, with its slanting position over the forehead, where it appears to be slipping to the left following the deep inclination of the Virgin's head towards the Child.

To cover up the weaknesses and deficiencies of

the representation, there is a predilection now for elaborate haloes, for fine, delicate outlines in the drapery of the garments, and comb-shaped lines on their smooth, unpleated areas; these are indicative of the clear tendency and disposition of the Cretan workshops of the second half of the 15th century towards external adornment of the figures. A characteristic example is that of the "stars" on the Virgin's maphorion, which, during this period, are rendered in a particularly elaborate way.

The modelling of the flesh becomes softer, with gentle gradations, and subtle reds add a warm blush to the cheeks. The result is not always an improvement, and the figures seem to lose in substance. More specifically, here, the Virgin, with her higher neck, the smaller inclination of her head and her delicate features, loses some of the weight which is required to bring out the deeper meaning of the representation. Depth of expression is replaced by the easier depiction of the emotions, with a greater sadness expressed in the Virgin's gaze.

The manner in which the Child is rendered also produces the same effect: here, his face is smaller and more delicate, and his generally more compact figure no longer seems to abandon itself in the Virgin's arms, which is what is achieved by Angelos in his Virgin of Naxos.

Among the details of this otherwise fine painting, we note the long, articulated fingers of the Virgin's hands, similar to the corresponding features of the Gouvernetto Monastery Glykophilousa - and especially the shape of the left hand, with the large gap between the forefinger and the other three fingers of the same hand.

4. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Crete, Gouvernetto Monastery.

Dimensions: 0.80 x 0.60 m

15th century

Pl.8.



The representation in the icon of the Virgin of the Gouvernetto Monastery faithfully follows, as a whole as well as in its several details, the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa in which the Child's left leg is bare (see interpretative note on the type).

Here, too, the Virgin holds the Christ Child in both arms, in a seated position,

Among the features which indicate the icon's provenance from a very good Cretan workshop of the second half of the 15th century are the complex chromatic modelling of the faces and the completeness of the composition, where we again find the deep fold of the Virgin's maphorion, within which falls the still intricately rendered draped ending of the Child's himation. We must also add, here, the fine-grained and carefully elaborated colours, the deep red lacquer tones of the Virgin's maphorion and the warm brick-coloured sienna of the Child's himation. The refined features of the faces are still lively and bright, despite the fact that the artist has attempted to lend them a more superficially emotional expression.

The Kalamata icon exemplifies - in the same way as the similarly executed icon of the Gouvernetto Monastery - the new tendencies of Cretan art, in which the old iconographic formulas have been increasingly stylised and new practices initiated, in response to the demand for a large-scale production of icons in the second half of the 15th century.

Bibliography: Provatakis 1976, p.82, fig.33.

1. Borboudakis 1975, No.12, pl.12. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Σχολής* 1993, No.135, p.491, pl.135 (Borboudakis).

and deeply inclines her head towards him. She supports the feet of her child on her right arm, and her left hand gently touches his shoulder. She is tightly wrapped in her maphorion and her sorrowful gaze is directed beyond the viewer. Christ, here, too, wears a sleeved chiton, adorned with gold florets, and his himation falls to his waist, in the way with which we are already familiar, leaving his left leg bare.

Stylistically, the icon presents a particular kinship with the icon of the same type of the Kalograion Monastery of Kalamata (pl.7), not only as regards the grave and reserved expression of the two figures, but also in other characteristic details, such as the large gap between the forefinger and the other fingers of the Virgin's left hand, the accentuated comb-like shape of the lighted surfaces on her right shoulder and the punched haloes of the two figures.

In spite of the above, the differences which emerge from a closer study and comparison of the two icons, lead us to trace the provenance of the Glykophilousa of the Gouvernetto Monastery to a workshop removed from that of the Kalamata icon both in terms of period and quality. The fine technique and execution of the latter painting presents features characteristic of the work of a more important artist, who is very close to the practices and methods of Andreas Ritzos, the Cretan painter of the second half of the 15th century, which in the icon of the Gouvernetto Monastery appear to have been simplified. The Virgin's left hand, which is rendered similarly in both icons, has, in the Kalamata Glykophilousa, been given exceedingly long fingers, and the forefinger has been strongly accentuated. Also, the Virgin's face, there, is characterised by a graver, and at the same time lively expression, which is reflected in the equally lively and in-

tense gaze of the Child. Conversely, in the Cretan icon, the faces are imbued with a deeper melancholy and sorrow. In addition, the comb-like streaks which, as we have seen, are present in both icons below the Virgin's right shoulder, have, in the case of the Gouvernetto Monastery, been painted hastily and superficially, while in the Kalamata Virgin they remain strongly geometric.

In conclusion, we might say that the representation in the painting of the Gouvernetto Monastery is a repetition of an older prototype and was executed after the intervention of Andreas Ritzos and his creation of outstandingly fine versions of the same iconographic type.

Bibliography: Borboudakis 1975, No.12. Borboudakis 1985, No.8. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, No.135, p.491, pl. 135 (Borboudakis).

5. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Mytilene, Ecclesiastical Museum.

Dimensions: 0.46 x 0.34 m

Late 15th century.

Plates 9.10.



The icon follows the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa with one of the child's legs bare. It is one of the important examples in the series of this type and is particularly close to the same representation in the Kalamata icon (pl.7). Among the differences between the two icons, of interest is the inclination of the Virgin's head, which here is very deep, showing the icon's dependence on the older examples of this group, and especially on the icon of Rome (pl.2) which bears the signature of Andreas Ritzos on the back of the panel. This detail of the deeper inclination of the Virgin's head lessens the distance between the two figures of the representation, with the lips of the Virgin very close to those of the child, thus justifying more fully the general qualification of the Virgin as Glykophilousa.

This icon also follows the Kalamata icon faithfully in several details, which are rendered here with simpler means and with less effect. The part of the child's himation which hangs below the Virgin's right hand is once again present, draped in the same manner as in the former icon, but with less intensi-

ty. The same is true regarding the other folds of the child's himation, and particularly the area covering his right arm. We again find the curve of the Virgin's maphorion beneath her left hand, but it is schematized and unrecognizable. The child's bare leg is shorter and not as correctly drawn. The Virgin's gaze is lowered and her expression more deeply sorrowful. The modelling of the flesh is harder, the eyebrows are darker and thicker, with the arch more pronouncedly curved. The drapery of her maphorion is harder, while the comb-shaped lights below her shoulder and right arm are more strongly emphasized. The maphorion is brownish-red and its dark, hard folds are almost black. The deep curve of her maphorion underneath her breast, in which floats the end of the child's himation, is crudely and uncertainly rendered. The curves of the foliate scrolls which decorate the punched halo of the Virgin are more open, and the floral decoration is simpler.

According to the most recent observations, the icon is to be assigned to a later date than the Kalamata icon and constitutes one of the series of works commissioned in great quantities from Cretan painters in the late 15th century.

Bibliography: E. Vakirtzis, *Θησαυροί της Λέσβου*, Exhibition of the Ecclesiastical Museum of Mytilene, Mytilene 1989, p.22, pl.5.

6. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Civilization
(D. Ekonomopoulos Collection)

Dimensions: 0.145 x 0.115 m.

Early 16th century.

Plates 11, 12.



The Virgin holds the Christ Child on the left in both arms. The inclination of her head towards the Child is quite marked, and she brings him so close to her that his face is pressed against hers. Her expression is sweet and grave, and her gaze is pensive and imperceptibly sorrowful. Her maphorion is tightly wrapped around her and folded to the right. It is edged by a simple braid in a double row around the edge of her head-covering and in the fold below her right shoulder. A fine gold fringe also adorns the edges of the garment. The Child wears a dark blue chiton with greenish lights, adorned at

regular intervals with widely spaced gold decorations, and a brick-red himation with many gold streaks, which falls below his waist and reveals his bare left leg all the way up to the knee. A pointed edge of his garment falls to the right and downwards. There are light greenish shadings in the underpainting, while the flesh and the lights cover large areas and are rendered in a painterly manner with broad brush-strokes. Parallel dull white lights define the edges of the volumes. The Virgin's mantle is purple, with brighter patches of lacquer where the surface is smooth, and darker lines in the deep folds.

From the stylistic point of view, in spite of the fine quality of the work both as regards its technique (the wonderful colours and gildings), and its character (the bright, but serious and reservedly thoughtful figures, the long hands, and the characteristic detail of the draped edge of the child's mantle), this icon indicates a provenance from an advanced Cretan workshop, and in any case dates to not later than the first half of the 16th century.

Bibliography: Baltoyanni 1985, No.20, pl.18.

7. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.21 x 0.258 m.

Early 16th century

Plates 13, 14, 15.



In this small icon belonging to a private collection in Athens, the Virgin Glykophilousa is pictured with the Christ Child held in both her arms, and wrapped in a richly woven, gold-threaded himation which reveals his bare left leg (see introductory note on the iconographic type).

The Virgin clad in her dark closed mourning maphorion, is portrayed in half length and holds the child on her left. She brings him very close to her and inclines her head deeply towards him.

This small icon, a valuable example of Cretan art, was obviously an object of private devotion.

It has been carefully repaired by an able craftsman, most probably in the early 20th century, and now presents elements which are foreign to its period and which are confusing when one seeks to determine the date of execution and the style of the

work. The bright gold streaks on the Child's himation, on the fringe and the trimming of the Virgin's maphorion, have been added over similar older details, which laboratory observations have proved to have been present in more subdued tones. Another foreign element is that of the silver highlights on the child's chiton and on the Virgin's fillet. Thin, weak lines have also been used to complete the eyes of both figures. It appears that, at the same period, was also added the silver sheathing, for the sake of which, most probably, the dimensions of the icon were changed by the addition of wooden sections on the upper and right-hand sides.

In spite of the above, the icon retains unadulterated the initial modelling of the flesh of both figures, as well as the dark purple colour of the Virgin's maphorion, with the few lacquered lights on its bright folds. The grave, reserved expression of sorrow on both faces has also not been altered, nor have the delicate features, the long fingers of the Virgin and the Infant's childish hands, characteristic elements which place this charming work in the late 15th century and indicate its provenance from a good Cretan workshop of the period.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

8. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Albania. Berat Museum.

Dimensions: 0.51 x 0.40 m.

16th century.

Plates 16, 17.



The icon in the Berat Museum represents the Virgin in the variant of the Glykophilousa in which one of the child's legs is bare, executed in the manner established by the great 15th-century Cretan workshops, and the earliest prototypes of which are the Naxos icon (pl.5), which we have attributed to Angelos, and the Glykophilousa of Rome (pl.2) by Andreas Ritzos. The Berat Virgin is also in half length. The representation faithfully repeats the iconographic type, reproducing it from its Cretan model of the late 15th century, as is obvious from the punched halo of the Virgin, which is usual during this period, a characteristic example being that of the Gouvernetto Monastery icon (pl.8).

Particular stylistic features distinguishing this icon point to its provenance from a 16th-century workshop in mainland Greece. Among the features which are most indicative of the school to which it belongs are the long conical neck of the Virgin, her elongated, oval face, the delicate, slightly-built child. The Child's hands are small, his fingers are lean, his shoulders slender, and his left forearm is lacking in volume. The sleeve on his chiton is simple. His bare leg is also delicate, with its lighted sur-

faces markedly schematized, while the gold lights on the Child's himation are harsh and intense. The choice of a deep blue chiton for the Child and a harsh red colour for the Virgin's maphorion with its dark, almost black folds, also point to a workshop in mainland Greece, as does the dark brownish-red himation with the broad gold lights.

The above features, quite a few of which characterize the delicate figures in the works of George and Frangos Kontaris, particularly those in the *litè* - the esonarthex - of the katholikon of the Barlaam Monastery of the Meteora¹ - with their harshly-lit elongated faces, slender limbs and fleshless fingers - are combined here with a Cretan ethos, dictated by the Cretan prototype which, as we have mentioned, has been faithfully followed. This fidelity is achieved thanks to the artist's obvious skill and, mainly, to the familiarity of his workshop with Cretan painting, from which it borrows even the foliate adornment of the Virgin's punched halo. Lastly, this adherence to the faithful repetition of the Cretan model attests, we believe, to the existence in mainland Greece of an important and particularly venerated icon which, as is the case also with the Blacherna Virgin (pl.19), is copied by early 16th-century workshops in mainland Greece.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Xyngopoulos 1957, pp.114 ff. Evangelides 1959, pp.40 ff. Chatzidakis 1966/1969, pp.299 ff. Deliyianni-Doris 1975, p.132.

9. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens. G.Tsakyroglou Collection

Dimensions: 0.285 x 0.23 m.

17th century.

Pl.18.



The small icon in the Tsakyroglou Collection constitutes an example of the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa in which the Christ Child's leg is bare (see introductory note on the type), as it survives after the 15th century in humbler local workshops. Although characterised by poor means, a restricted palette, and a simplistic

portrayal of the disposition of the figures, the expressive elements which refer to the future Passion of the Child are unmistakably clear.

The Virgin, portrayed to just below waist length, here, too, holds the Child in both arms and bends deeply towards him with her face against his. She is clad in the closed maphorion typical of this type, which here is brownish-red, and the narrow dark folds of which are delineated with bold, luminous off-white lines. The ground of the icon is gold and the letters MHP ΘΥ are inscribed in medallions in white directly on the gold. On the bottom part of the gold frame there are traces of an old inscription.

The lines delineating the edges of the volumes on the faces are harsh. The slender Child, portrayed as a miniature adult - in accordance with the conventional iconography of the type - sits in his mother's arms and holds a closed scroll in both hands

while he turns his gaze towards the Virgin. His thin left leg is bare. He is clad in a greyish-blue sleeved chiton with greyish-white broad, superficial lights, and in a red himation with irregular gold streaks, which here, too, falls about his waist, with its end fluttering beneath the Virgin's right arm. The fingers of both figures, particularly those of the Virgin's left hand, show a clumsy attempt to copy their natural form, a feature characteristic not only of a later period than that which produced the ethereal

10. The Virgin Glykophilousa of Blacherna

Argostoli, Cephalonia. Evangelistria Church.

Dimensions: 1.08 x 0.82 m.

Late 15th - early 16th century.

Plates 19, 20.



The Virgin is portrayed as a Glykophilousa, with the Child half reclining in her arms and his left leg bare (see the interpretative notes on the type).

The representation in the Cephalonia icon, which is one of the most beautiful examples of this type, is complemented by two waist-length angels, in red medallions, on the left and right of the unadorned halo of the Virgin inscribed on the gold ground. Their heads are slightly bowed in worship, and their hands are covered by their deep blue himatia with the greyish-white lights.

The Virgin inclines her head towards the Child, whom she brings very close to her, so that her luminous, rounded face touches his. Her right arm supports his legs and with the edges of the fingers of her left hand she lightly touches his shoulder. She is clad in the closed maphorion of mourning familiar in this type of representation. Her eyes are clear, large and almond-shaped, with translucent, light-coloured irises, and muted, and carefully-drawn outlines. Blue tones complement and soften the white of the eyes, and a bright red colour tints her upper lip. The underpaint is green and surrounds her brightly lit cheeks. Her head-dress is in a deeper tone of green and her maphorion is in a brownish crimson colour. The Child, with sturdy shoulders, a broad forehead and his long bare leg prominently displayed, nestles in his mother's arms and holds a closed scroll in both hands. His face leans against hers, and he turns his gaze towards the viewer.

The representation, for all its absolute fidelity to

hands of 15th- and 16th-century Cretan art, but also indicative of the naive, more popular approach to the subject by a local workshop of the first half of the 17th century.

Bibliography: Karakatsani 1980, No.83, pl. on p.92.

the Cretan prototype and its very close kinship to the older examples of Cretan icons of the same type, such as the Glykophilousa in the church of the Prophet Elijah in the Chora of Naxos (pl.5), presents particular stylistic features which distance it chronologically from the first half of the 15th century and indicate its provenance from a late 15th-century or early 16th-century workshop, located outside Crete, and undoubtedly very well equipped, which allows it to produce this splendid rendering of the Cretan model. Among its features which are foreign to the Cretan tradition, we can note the lovely rounded, youthful face of the Virgin, the bright green shades around her cheeks, the small eyes of the Child with their intense gaze, his very broad forehead, as well as the deep blue himatia of the two angels, which stand out uniformly against the red medallions.

The particularities of the elements of the representation mentioned above and especially the bright green underpaint in the triangular and slightly rounded face of the Virgin, are characteristic of workshops familiar with Cretan art - as is indicated by the Cretan expression of the icon - and at the same time faithful to the old Palaeologan prototypes. The closest examples of this type of work can be seen in representations of the School formerly known as the Theban School and recently renamed the Epirus School¹ - such as the Pammakaristos Virgin (ill.16) in the double-sided icon of the Byzantine Museum with the Byzantine Crucifixion on the other side. The representation of the Virgin in the icon of the Byzantine Museum we have attributed² to the workshop of Frangos Katelanos as much because of its stylistic kinship with the mural representing the Virgin by this painter in the Barlaam Monastery of the Meteora, as because of other features which lead to the same attribution. In spite of the more refined features of the Pammakaristos, it is similar to our icon in the brightness of the eyes and the luminous faces. The underpaint of the flesh there, too, is green, with the result that the same

pictorial effect is achieved. Striking, moreover, is the repetition in our icon of the exceedingly complex manner in which the eyes of the two figures are rendered, with deep, wavy, off-white outlines, double angular lights at the edges, and successive white strokes underneath them. In the same manner, also, is rendered the bright, heart-shaped surface on the Virgin's left cheek, as well as its rounded outline below her chin. The face of the Pammakaristos Virgin is more mature and austere, and it differs from that of the younger Virgin of Cephalonia also in its expression, in conformity with the requirements of the different iconographic type it represents.

More faithful to the Cretan model it copies, the Blacherna of Cephalonia distances itself physiognomically from the icon of the Byzantine Museum, without, however, losing the characteristics of the Epirot School to which it appears to belong (fig.17). Besides, the relationship of our icon with that of St. Nicholas³ in the church of the Virgin Eleousa on the

Island of the lake of Ioannina, in which similar features can be observed - such as the preference for blues and reds, and especially, the green underpaint - also leads us to ascribe our icon to the same School.

Bibliography: *Κεφαλονιά: Ένα μεγάλο Μουσείο* 1989, No.84; Konomos 1966, p.12 (mention).

1. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1983.

2. Baltoyianni 1991a, p.23.

3. *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1986, No.123, p.122, fig.123 (Potamianou). From *Byzantium to El Greco* 1987, No.56 (Potamianou). *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων* 1993, pl.577 (Paliouras). Acheimastou-Potamianou 1994, pp.1-8, plates I,11.

11. The Presentation in the Temple

Double-sided panel of a triptych (obverse)

Athens. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.18 x 0.15 m.

16th century.

Plates 21, 22.



On this double-sided side panel of a triptych with an arched top is depicted the Presentation on the obverse and the Pentecost¹ on the reverse.

The Presentation is depicted according to the iconographic format in which the infant Christ is shown in the arms of Simeon and in

which the Child's bare leg features prominently. The type, which is Byzantine in origin (see introductory note to the iconography of the Glykophilousa with Christ the Lamb), constitutes a faithful repetition of a prototype established by the Cretan workshops of the 15th century.

Among the oldest known examples of the Presentation produced in 15th-century Cretan workshops is the representation on the frame of the Serajevo² icon, which is signed by the well-known Cretan painter Nikolaos Ritzos,³ son of Andreas Ritzos.

The affinity of our icon with the Serajevo Presen-

tation is apparent in the shape and rendering of the ciborium above the Holy Altar, in the dark-green marble of the bishops' thrones and in the closed sanctuary doors, to the right and left of which is deployed, with the same economy of composition, the scene of the Presentation.

On the left are portrayed Joseph, the prophetess Anna and the Virgin, who precedes them, extending her right hand towards Simeon. The latter is pictured on the right, holding the Child in his hands, which are covered by his himation, as he is about to return the Infant to his mother.

The form of the two buildings in the background is the same as that of the buildings in the Serajevo Presentation. The one on the left, tall and narrow, is rendered here, also, with a flat roof, with cantilevers, railings and a rectangular door opening, with a shallow semi-circular niche over the lintel. The edifice on the right, tall, as well, and narrower, has the same gabled roof as that in the Serajevo icon, topped by a column, without, however, the capital and the flower pot of the Presentation by Nikolaos Ritzos, as their depiction is impeded here by the arched shape of the icon. The same resemblance is also seen in the other features, as in the position and movement of Anna in marked *contrapposto* - her legs turned to the right and her face to the left - in the figure of the Virgin, shown with one hand covered by her maphorion, as well as in that of Joseph, who has been rendered in the same way physiognomically. The Simeon of our icon is also identical to the Simeon of Ritzos' Presentation, as he

is depicted in the same posture, with the infant Christ half-reclining in his arms and turned towards him. Here, too, the left hand of the Child is lifted in a gesture of blessing and, again, his right leg is bare.

The differences between our representation and that of the Serajevo icon, indicative of a chronological distance between the two, concern mainly the artistic means of our icon, which are simpler, here, and its particular stylistic features, which place it in the 16th century.

The simpler drapery of the garments - especially that of the bottom part of the Virgin's maphorion below her extended right hand - and the corresponding simpler edges of the himatia of both Simeon and Joseph, lack the richness of the drapery of Ritzos' Presentation.

Other features, too, such as the youthful figure of the elderly prophetess Anna and the classically beautiful face of the Virgin, with the delicate cheeks, indicate a workshop using a later model than that of the Serajevo icon, one corresponding to the Presentation in the mural paintings of the church of St. Nicholas Anapafsas in the Meteora,⁴ signed in 1527 by the more classical painter Theophanes, also a Cretan.⁵

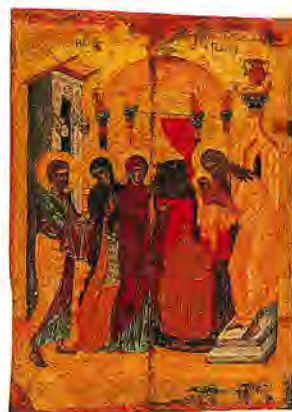
12. The Presentation in the Temple

Crete, Parish of Spelia, Kissamos.

Dimensions: 0.48 x 0.33m.

Late 16th century.

Pl.32.



This painting of the Presentation also faithfully follows the iconographic type showing Christ lying in Simeon's arms, with his left leg bare and not covered by his himation (see interpretative notes on the type).

Here, too, the scene takes place in front of the closed doors of the Sanctuary. Simeon appears to be handing the Child back to his mother, who is depicted opposite him and on the left. She is tightly wrapped in her maphorion, which leaves only her right hand, which she extends towards Simeon, uncovered. Following behind her, as always in Cretan iconography, is the elderly prophetess Anna, with her face turned towards Joseph, who is pictured last, holding the ritual offering of the pair of doves as a sacrifice for sins.

Our icon also resembles the Presentation by Theophanes in certain particular features of the personages. Simeon's rich beard and long hair, for instance, as well as other physiognomic features, are here faithfully repeated.

The solid figure of Joseph, too, with his thick, short hair and beard, Anna's bold *contrapposto* movement and the slight figure of the Virgin have their antecedents in the Presentation by Theophanes. There, too, Anna and the Virgin are young. We shall assign this representation - an important one in the iconographic study of the Presentation featuring the element of the Child's bare leg, as seen in the Serajevo icon and in the Presentation by Theophanes - to the first half of the 16th century, and later than Theophanes.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Not discussed here.
2. Djurić 1961, No.52, p.115, pl. L XXII. Chatzidakis 1977, pl.202. Cattapan 1973, p.279, pl.H'2.
3. Cattapan op.cit., pp.238-282. Chatzidakis 1974a, pp.182-183.
4. Chatzidakis 1969/1970, p.316.
5. Chatzidakis, op.cit.

Stylistically, the painting presents elements distancing it from the old models of the Cretan artists of the 15th century, such as the Presentation of Patmos and the same scene in the Serajevo icon by Nikolaos Ritzos. The rendering, by simpler artistic means, here, of the drapery (especially in Joseph's yellow himation) is sketchier, the black lines in the shaded parts (as in the Virgin's red maphorion) are harsh, the shaded parts of the flesh, with no translucencies in the wheat-coloured highlighted parts, are dark brown, and the rough-grained colours not sufficiently elaborated.

The same tendency towards simplification can also be noted in the rough execution of the marble floor of the temple, in the superficial and uncertain white elements of the marble.

In spite of the above, the icon also retains older features, such as the purple touches in the shaded parts of the folds of Anna's chiton, and other more essential elements, such as the lively expression of the faces, the brightness of the eyes with the slight white colour in the edges of the irises, and the correct handling of the position and movement of the figures. This perhaps suggests a provincial 16th-century Cretan workshop of conservative tendencies and restricted means.

Bibliography: Borboudakis 1975, No.23.
Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης 1993, No.161,

pp.515-516, pl. 161 (Borboudakis).

13. The Presentation in the Temple

Panel of a triptych.

Athens. Private collection.

Dimensions 0.235 x 0.155 m (the panel only).

Late 16th century.

Plates 23.24.



The handling of the scene of the Presentation on this panel of a triptych is compressed, with Simeon and the infant Christ in his arms pictured very close to the Virgin, who is portrayed opposite Simeon and in front of the prophetess Anna and of Joseph, who follows behind her.

From the painting are missing the familiar rectangular, tall and narrow buildings, as well as the walls in front of which the scene is usually set. Dominant, here, is the large ciborium of the Holy Altar of the Temple, with its vaulted ceiling which fits harmoniously within the arched top of the panel of the triptych.

In spite of the simplification of the type, rendered necessary by the lack of space, the significant detail - in terms of the meaning of the scene - of the bare leg of the Child reclining in Simeon's arms is not absent.

The faithful repetition of this iconographic element in the Presentation of our triptych, which most probably served private devotional needs, is not accidental. On the contrary, it is indicative of a conscious position with regard to the subject and of a deep knowledge of its innermost meaning, which is linked, as we have attempted to prove, with the sacrifice of the Passover lamb of the Jews and the prefiguration in it of the future sacrificial death of Christ on the Cross (see introductory notes on the Glykophiloussa with the detail of Child's bare leg).

This last element places the work, which, judging by its stylistic features must be dated to the late 16th century, among the interesting examples of the Presentation of this period.

Among the particular stylistic elements of our painting we note the youthful face of the elderly prophetess Anna, who is wrapped in her bright maphorion with its soft, flowing drapery, the charming and diminutive figure of the Virgin, who

is also exceedingly young, recalling to mind the Virgin Hodegetria - also young and similarly portrayed - in the icon in Venice, on the theme of the Sunday of Orthodoxy,¹ painted by the 16th-century Corfiot artist, Emmanuel Tzanfournaris.²

The attribution of the painting to a good workshop of the late 16th century, and its close affinity with the means of a well-known artist, is also supported by other features: the shape of the ciborium with the flame-shaped capitals, the treatment of the marble vaulted ceiling, with the rows of small, restless shapes in the veins of the marble, the lighted glass oil-lamp, similar to those we find in an icon of St. Spyridon and scenes of his life,³ in the Collection of St. George of the Greeks in Venice, painted by Tzanfournaris.

In the icon of St. Spyridon can also be seen the same simple sanctuary doors, which are rounded at the bottom, the cruciform arrangement of the frames of the panels, and the parallel and oblique gold striations.

We shall assign the Presentation of our triptych to the period of the icon of Venice - which bears the date 1595 - and attribute it to the workshop of Emmanuel Tzanfournaris, since it evidences the same exceptionally fine technique, the skilfully elaborated luminous tones of the colours ranging from pink to bright cadmium-red in the draped garment covering Simeon's arms, the emerald green and the complex combinations of the 16th-century Venetian chromatic scale, with which the painter Emmanuel Tzanfournaris seems to have been very closely acquainted.

Bibliography: G. Kakavas, "Κρητικό τρίπτυχο με σκηνές Δωδεκάορθου", in the *13th Symposium of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Archaeology and Art*, Athens 1993, p.14.

1. Chatzidakis 1962, p.96, pl.48.

2. On the life and work of Emmanuel Tzanfournaris of Corfu, see Mertzios 1939, pp.235-238. Xyngopoulos 1957, pp.171-173. Chatzidakis op.cit., pp.93-94.

3. Chatzidakis op.cit, p.94, pl.47. Manoussakas, Paliouras 1976, No.22, coloured plate VI.

14. The Presentation in the Temple

Zakynthos Museum

17th century.

Plates 25, 26.



This example of the splendid work produced by Cretan icon painters has been rendered in accordance with the iconographic type established by the 15th-century artists from Candia (Herakleion). The aged Simeon is portrayed as usual on the right, standing on a marble stepped platform and holding Christ in his arms, which are covered by his himation. He inclines his body and head towards the infant and appears to be returning him to his mother. The old man's flowing white hair falls in curls on his bowed back. Opposite him stands the Virgin, portrayed with soft cheeks and red lips, and tightly wrapped in her mantle. She extends her right hand towards the child. Behind her stands the elderly prophetess Anna, with her face turned towards Joseph, who follows behind her holding the pair of doves for the sacrifice.

The scene takes place in front of the closed sanctuary doors of the temple and the half-drawn veil, behind which can be discerned the Holy Altar beneath the domed ciborium supported by four slender columns. The scene is framed by a tall, rectangular and flat-roofed building on the left, with an open rectangular doorway and, on the right, by a narrow building with a gabled roof and an arched opening on its façade. It is topped by a small column, on the capital of which stands an elaborate, gold-ornamented flower pot.

Stylistically the icon is typical of Cretan painting as it developed in the Ionian islands after the establishment there of well-known Cretan artists, who sought refuge in the area after the fall of Candia in 1669. New tendencies, stemming from their closer connection, at this time, with neighbouring Venice, mainly influenced the atmosphere of their works, and to a lesser degree the iconography, which was by then well established.

The iconography of the painting, as its above description shows, faithfully follows the old prototype, its closest example, morphologically speaking, being the Presentation depicted in the well-known Serajevo icon,¹ signed by Nikolaos Ritzos, son of the highly-skilled Cretan painter of the second half of the 15th century, Andreas Ritzos. In the Presentation of the Serajevo icon can be observed not only

the entire arrangement and economy of the composition, and the identical position and attitude of the figures, but also other particular details, a fact which is indicative of our artist's ability to faithfully reproduce the old model.

We note here that the infant Christ in the arms of the aged Simeon is once again depicted with the significant detail of the bare left leg, an element which is also applied in the version of the Glykophilousa relating to the meaning of the future Passion of Christ (see introductory note).

The Presentation of the Serajevo icon, which undoubtedly reveals the existence of an older respected model, is reproduced in fine 16th-century works,² and continues also to be followed by the good workshops of the 17th century.³

The new elements of the representation now lie mainly in the stylistic features, which refer us to the technical resources of an able 17th-century painter. We must note here that the painting belongs to the cycle of the Dodekaorton in the iconostasis of the Pantocrator Monastery in Zakynthos, which is now exhibited in the Zakynthos Museum. The Dodekaorton cycle has long been attributed to the Cretan painter Victor,⁴ whose signature can be seen on the main icons of the same iconostasis, together with Christ the Great High Priest, the Transfiguration and St. John the Forerunner.⁵

The presence of Victor's hand on the iconostasis of the Pantocrator Monastery - which, on the strength of an inscription it bears, is dated to 1683 - resulted in the attribution of the entire cycle of the Dodekaorton icons to the same artist.⁶ However, the icon - although presenting elements of the period in which the icon screen was executed, and appearing, furthermore, to have originated in a very good workshop of the time, as we know for a fact was the case for Victor's workshop - presents certain particular stylistic features which deter us from attributing it to this well-known painter's workshop.

In particular, we note the delicate and youthful figure of the Virgin, with her blooming cheeks, red lips and small mouth, for which there is no precedent in Victor's work. Also, the Renaissance-style figure of Christ, with his rich hair, sturdy body and plump bare leg, does not appear to relate to corresponding portrayals in works by Victor.

On the contrary, many elements of the icon can be found in the paintings of Leo Moskos, an indisputable example of whose work is the now lost icon of All Saints⁸ in the Zakynthian church of the same name, which was destroyed in the 1953 earthquakes.

Nonetheless, in a surviving black-and-white published photograph can still be discerned the relationship of our icon with this important work.

We find there Joseph's particular physiognomic features - a short white beard and uptilted chin - unknown elsewhere, and of a type which corresponds to the figure of Peter, in the group of apostles on the upper left-hand side of the icon by Leo Moskos. The particular treatment, also, of the two long curls in Simeon's hair, which fall to his shoulders, can also be observed in the icon of All Saints in the figure of the kneeling prophet - fifth in line in the second group of the righteous to the right of Christ.

Elements, moreover, of the representation, also appear in the three scenes from the life of the Virgin which were added to the lower part of an icon (also from the iconostasis of the Pantocrator Monastery) whose subject is the Virgin of the Passion. The addition of the three scenes is a feature of 17th-century painting and bears the signature of Leo Moskos, regarding the authenticity of which some doubts have been expressed. The Presentation presents an affinity with the painting of the addition on the older icon of the Virgin of the Passion, as regards the preference for certain colours which are not particularly common in 17th-century art. The subdued tones of rosy-red on the chitons and the himatia of the figures in this older icon are also a feature of our icon, where they have been used for the sanctuary veil and the draped altar cloth.

In spite of the few, relatively weak elements of comparison with the now lost icon of Leo Moskos - the authenticity of whose signature on the work is disputed - we shall nevertheless attribute our icon

to Leo Moskos, both on the grounds that its particular features do not appear in the works of other good artists in the specific period during which the iconostasis was executed, and that it is ascertained that it is not related to the work of Victor.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Djurić 1961, No.52, p.115, pl.L XXII. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.182, pl.II'1. Chatzidakis 1977, pl.202. The same type was painted by Theophanes of Crete in 1527 in the church of St. Nicholas Anafsas (Chatzidakis 1969/1970, p.316).

2. Michael Damaskinos in the Venice icon (Chatzidakis 1962, No.40, pl.29) and in the Patmos icon (Chatzidakis 1977, No.60, pl.39).

3. It has been painted by Philotheos Skoufos in the icon of the Byzantine Museum (Chatzidakis, Δώδεκα Βυζαντινές Εικόνες [undated] Fig. No.8).

4. Xyngopoulos 1957, p.212. Chatzidakis 1987, pp.192-201, where see the relevant bibliography.

5. Konomos 1964, p.76.

6. Konomos, op.cit.

7. Xyngopoulos 1936, p.39. Piombinos 1984, pp.261-262.

8. Xyngopoulos op.cit., p.97, pl.101. The icon bore the signature of Leo Moskos and the date 1656.

15. Philotheos Skoufos The Presentation in the Temple

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T328).

Dimensions: 1.02 x 0.64 m.

1669.

Plates 27, 28.



type). On the left and opposite Simeon is portrayed

The Presentation, which here repeats the Palaeologan iconographic type established by 15th and 16th-century Cretan workshops, shows the aged Simeon on the right, still holding the Christ Child in his arms as a reclining infant and with one of his legs left uncovered by his himation (see interpretative notes on the

the Virgin, who extends her arms to receive the child, and who is followed by the elderly prophetess Anna and by St. Joseph holding the pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons in his hands, which are covered by his himation. The ritual takes place in front of the closed altar doors of the Sanctuary, behind which can be seen the holy altar, the ciborium with its four colonettes, the sanctuary veil drawn to the right, and part of the semicircular rows of seats. The scene is set between tall and narrow buildings and outside the walls of Jerusalem with their battlements. Present, here too, is the double-handled vase set on top of the narrow rectangular pillar rising from the gabled roof of the building on the right, as is also the hanging oil lamp of the ciborium, features which often complement the Cretan representations of the Presentation. On the marble floor of the temple and on the lower part of the icon is painted an escutcheon, traversed obliquely by a white band which divides it into two fields, a red

one and a blue one, and on which may be discerned a star with six rays, on the right, and traces of a second one on the left. On the gold border painted along the bottom edge of the icon may be read the artist's signature and the donor's prayer:

XEIP ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΣΚΟΥΦΟΥ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΚΥΔΩΝΙΑΙΟΥ ΑΧΕΘ (=1699)
ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ... ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ
Κ[ΥΡΙ]Ε ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛ(ΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΘΕΟΥ) Γ(ΕΩ)ΡΓΙΟΥ ΜΠΑΡΜΠΑ ΚΕ
ΚΟ(Ι)... CYMBEΙΑC ΓΟΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ
(ΤΩΝ ΤΕ)ΚΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ.

(By the hand of the monk Philotheos Skoufos of Kydonia, abbot — February 1699 .. Remember Lord the servant of God Georgios Barbias and.. his wife, parents and children).

This valuable inscription reveals, as we can see, not only the name of the painter (Philotheos Skoufos) and the date of the painting (1699), but also the name of the donor (Georgios Barbias), a member of the well-known titled Zakynthian family of Varvianis or Varvias.

Philotheos Skoufos is a Cretan artist of the 17th century,¹ whom we know both from signed works of his and from information contained in the *Katastichon* — the Register — of Zakynthos. As he himself declares in the inscription on our icon, he was from Chania (i.e. Kydonia), while at the time the icon was painted (1669) he was abbot of the church of the Laurentaina in the Castro of Zakynthos.

The donor mentioned in the inscription, Georgios Varvias, is also a Zakynthian and appears to have lived very near the church of the Laurentaina, since — again according to information in the *Katastichon* of Zakynthos² — the western side of the church bordered on the residence of Georgios Varvias.

The identification of the donor, Georgios Varvias, as a member of the well-known Zakynthi-

an family of Varviani or Varvia, is supported by the escutcheon on our icon, to the right and left of which appears the votive inscription. The escutcheon has now been identified with that of the Varviani-Varvias family recorded in Codex 17 of the Historical and Ethnological Society. In the study published by George Correr,³ the escutcheon on the verso of leaf 11, which, according to the description given by the writer, is that of our icon, belongs to the Varviani family "under their other surname of... Varvias". It is worth noting here that, in Correr's view, the description of the colours of this heraldic device in Codex 17 is incomplete, since "nothing is said regarding the colours of the bend and the stars".

This lacuna in heraldic research has now been filled thanks to the depiction of the Varvias family escutcheon in our icon, where the bend is clearly white and the six-rayed stars crimson.

Finally, having identified the donor of our icon as the titled Zakynthian nobleman Georgios Varvias, who lived near the church of the Laurentaina, it is now possible to assume that Skoufos' Presentation came from this same church. It is not only the large size of the work and its sumptuous execution, appropriate for this kind of church, which argue in favour of this view, but also the signature of Philotheos Skoufos, who, at the time this important icon was painted, was the priest of this church.

Bibliography : G. Sotiriou 1924, p.88. G. Sotiriou 1931, p.91. Xyngopoulos 1957, p.207. Chatzidakis, *Δώδεκα Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* (undate), fig. No.8.

1. On the life and work of Philotheos Skoufos see mainly Manousakas 1940, pp.297-307. Xyngopoulos 1957, pp.205-209.

2. Konomos 1967, p.81.

3. Correr 1980, p.96.

16. The Presentation in the Temple

Patmos. Chora. Monastery of Zoodochos Pighi.

Dimensions: 0.703 x 0.255 m.

17th century.

Plates 29, 30, 31.



The icon is set in the iconostasis of the church and above the main sanctuary doors.

It depicts the Presentation in a peculiar iconographic form, in which, however, the iconographic detail

of the Child's bare leg is again present. The composition is disposed along a horizontal axis, with the figures of the Presentation balanced to the right and left of a large rectangular altar, covered by a draped cloth edged with tassels. Simeon, on the right and standing on a marble platform, in front of a high semicircular stepped throne with a semicircular back, bends forward and appears to be returning the Child to his Mother. The Infant, here too reclining in the arms of the old man, has one leg bare (see relevant interpretative note).

Far away, on the opposite side, is depicted the Virgin, who, here too, extends her arms to receive her son. She is followed by the prophetess Anna

and by Joseph, holding *the pair of turtledoves or two young pigeons* in his hands, which are covered by his himation.

The particularity of this icon, and its deviation from the established 15th-century iconography of the type, lies mainly in that the scene most probably takes place within the Holy of Holies and not in front of the closed altar doors of the sanctuary. Other distinctive features are the large throne behind Simeon, and the absence of the architectural background with the walls of Jerusalem. The two tall and narrow buildings which usually frame the scene are also depicted in a less detailed manner. Iconographically significant, also, is the detail of the Gospel on the altar.

Among the particular features of the representation we must also include the horizontal axis of the rectangular altar, covered by a richly draped cloth and resting on a wooden support. The ciborium above the altar follows the horizontal axis; it rests on four small columns with flame-shaped capitals. Of iconographic interest, also, is the position of the prophetess Anna, who stands slightly further away from Joseph and closer to the Virgin. Also indicative of the provenance of the painting is the iconographic detail of Joseph's left heel stepping on Anna's foot.

All the above features, despite the rarity of their occurrence, can be seen in representations of the Presentation which have been attributed to the great 16th-century Cretan painter, Theophanes. More particularly, in the icon of the Presentation from the Dodekaorton in the Monastery of the Lavra on Mount Athos, despite the vertical axis of the composition in the latter, which limits its sideways deployment, the scene is also rendered without the element of the closed sanctuary doors, with Simeon in front of a semicircular stepped throne, and on the right of an altar supported by a large wooden leg and covered by a draped cloth. On the altar and in the same position lies the Gospel. The detail of Joseph's bare heel stepping on Anna's foot is also clearer here.

The iconography of Simeon as depicted in the Presentation, with the Child in his arms, in front of the altar and without the intervening closed altar doors, is repeated also in the exceedingly concise rendering of the same scene in the Monastery of Stavronikita on Mount Athos.²

This peculiar iconographic rendering of the Presentation preferred by Theophanes the Cretan, is not accidental, and its creation is most probably related to the particular significance of the scene, foreshadowing the future sacrifice of the Child (see relevant interpretative note on the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa with the feature of the Child's bare leg). The Presentation — as we have also at-

tempted to prove elsewhere³ — was depicted in Byzantine art as early as the 11th century with the prefigurative element of the Child's sacrifice emphasised.

The sacrifice of Christ the Lamb who offers himself up is conveyed through the use of significant elements, which continue to characterise the representation of the scene in Byzantine iconography up until post-Byzantine times.

We believe that the iconographic type of our icon, constitutes one of the iconographic expressions of this particular meaning and that it is from this point of view that the scene is set within the Holy of Holies, by the sacrificial altar, and not outside the closed doors of the sanctuary. We believe, moreover, that the liturgical nature of the representation is proven by the position occupied by our icon which, as has already been mentioned, is placed on the iconostasis of the church, and above the central sanctuary door.

Stylistically, the representation is chiefly characterised by the obvious conventionality of the figures and, despite the retention here of certain older elements — such as the draped cloth which links the two buildings — and the exceptionally fine technique, it is chronologically and qualitatively removed from the painting of Theophanes the Cretan, from which the artist has mainly borrowed and reproduced here the iconographic elements of the Presentation.

Other elements of the representation, such as the bright red colour and hard black lines of the Virgin's maphorion and of the draped altar cloth, refer us to the work of a local Patmian workshop, and more particularly to the prothesis diptych of the Monastery of Zoodochos Pighi, which has been dated to between 1610 and 1620 and has been attributed to a Patmian workshop.⁴ Our icon also presents similarities with the Virgin Zoodochos Pighi, in the prothesis triptych in the Monastery of the same name, in the handling of the Child's facial features, which in both icons is suggestive of the work of a provincial artist copying and reproducing good Cretan models in his own way. Furthermore, the himation of the Child in the above-mentioned triptych is also gold-coloured, exactly as it is in our Presentation.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Chatzidakis 1969/1970, p.324, fig.36.

2. Chatzidakis 1986, fig.85.

3. Baltoyianni, "Christ the Lamb and the 'Ενώπιον' of the Law in a Wall Painting of Araka" Special edition dedicated to the memory of Doula Mouriki, ΔΧΑΕ ΙΖ' (in print).

4. Chatzidakis 1977, No.158, pp.177-178, pl.75.

17. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Formerly on the market.

Dimensions: 0.46 x 0.342 m.

Second half of the 15th century.

Pl.33.



Against a very highly polished gold ground, on a panel with a wide, low raised frame constituting part of the same panel and also gilded, is portrayed the Virgin in the variant of the Glykophilousa. She holds the Child on the left, in both arms and very close to her, so that his face presses slightly against her left cheek. Her left arm, which is covered by her maphorion, revealing only the long fingers of her hand, encircles the Child's body; her right hand is slipped through his legs.

The infant Christ, with a baby face and plump hands, nestles in the arms of his mother, his left hand grasping her maphorion and his right hand touching her chin. He wears a golden-green himation tightly wrapped around his body, revealing his bare left arm and part of his left shoulder. The pointed draped end of the himation flutters behind his back. The haloes of both figures are punched. The foliate scrolls form closed, rounded shapes enclosing schematised anthemias with round petals.

The representation, with the Child's back turned three-quarters to the viewer and his right hand under his mother's chin, indicates its iconographic dependence on an early Byzantine model, closely related to the cycle created by the icon of the Virgin of Kykkos, as it has been modified in icons of the type of the Madonna dell'Arco in the Monastery delle Vergini at Bitondo, in Bari.¹ The differences which are observed in comparing our icon with the Madonna dell'Arco most probably indicate the intervention, also, of a variant of the Italo-Cretan Galaktotrophousa, which was often produced during the 15th and 16th centuries.²

The creation and adoption, during the 15th century, of variations of the old and iconographically and semantically complex model of the Madonna dell'Arco, is perhaps also connected - through references to a common semantic content - to other representations of the Virgin and Child, from which the new additions have been borrowed.

Of the elements of the Madonna dell'Arco which are repeated in our icon, we note the three-quarters twist of the upright body of the Child towards his

mother, the gesture of his right hand touching her chin, the detail of the left hand which grasps the end of her maphorion around the base of her neck, and particularly the iconographic element of the hand of the Virgin, which she has slipped through the crossed legs of the Child. The main differences lie in the Child's shoulder, which is bare in our painting, and which in the Madonna dell'Arco is covered by a transparent sleeved chiton. Another major deviation in our painting is that the Child wears a golden-green himation, tightly wrapped around him and covering his left leg, while in the Madonna dell'Arco the leg remains bare. Also, in our Glykophilousa, the left hand of the Virgin supports the Child's waist, whereas in the Madonna dell'Arco it is slipped under his left arm.

Certain elements of the Madonna dell'Arco which appear in a differentiated form in our painting may also be observed in representations of the 15th-century Galaktotrophousa, in which the dependence on the early prototype is manifest.

The icon, an obviously refined and superbly-executed work, points to a Cretan workshop working for a Catholic client, as its particular stylistic details attest.

The dense gold striations on the deep green ground of the Child's himation, the meticulously elaborated gold ground, the refined golden decorations on the clear and fine-grained carmine red of the small portion of the chiton which his himation reveals, the deep, closed curves in the richly decorated punched halo of the Virgin, which is also outlined by a fine, punched ornamental border, are indicative of a rich workshop disposing of rich technical resources, and working for a rich client. Moreover, the very warm sienna colour of the flesh, and particularly of the cheeks, which recalls the painterly means of Paolo Veneziano, and which also characterises the Virgin Enthroned of the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice (see introductory notes to the iconographic type of the Madre della Consolazione), a painting which has been ascribed to a Cretan artist of the second half of the 15th century, lead us to attribute this icon, too, to a Cretan workshop of the same period, and one that is thoroughly conversant with Venetian art.

The semantic relationship of our painting with the future Passion of Christ is expressed here by the Child's bare shoulder, an element which also pertains to the semeiology of the Passion. Among the examples which support this premise we might mention the swaddled, bare-shouldered child in the fresco of the *Melismos* in the Macedonian church of Aghioi Anargyroi³ (1340), which also perhaps suggests a Macedonian origin for the use of the feature in the Virgin Glykophilousa.

The iconographic type of our painting, which, as has been mentioned, is related to the Madonna dell'Arco, appears to have spread to Franciscan Dalmatia, as can be seen from the stylistic features of the Madonna dell'Arco, which has been attributed to an Adriatic workshop.⁴ The type has also been reproduced in 15th- and 16th-century Cretan workshops. Among the known examples is the Patmos Glykophilousa⁵ (pl.34), which shows a close stylistic affinity with the works produced by the Pitzamani workshops on Crete.

Bibliography: *Fine Icons* 1981, No.72.

1. *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, No.34, pl. on p.72. Frinta 1987, p.15, fig.9.

18. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Patmos. Chora. Church of the Virgin Diasozousa.

Dimensions: 0.725 x 0.525 m.

Early 16th century.

Plates 34. 35.



This painting represents the Virgin and Child with a combination of elements from variants of the Glykophilousa. The Virgin holds the Child in both arms, with her face against his. The infant Christ is wrapped very tightly in his himation, the pointed edge of which flutters backwards, leaving his left shoulder bare. With his left hand he grasps the edge of his mother's head covering. With his right, which is trapped in the tight embrace of the two figures, he touches the Virgin's chin.

The representation carries features both from the iconography of the Glykophilousa with the reclining infant (see introductory note on the type) from which it retains the movement of the right hand of the Child under the Virgin's chin, and from the Byzantine representation, in which the Child's left hand, extended to the left, grasps the edge of the Virgin's maphorion high up on the breast. The provenance of the latter element is also from Byzantine iconography, the earliest example perhaps being that of the icon of the Virgin Kykkotissa in the Monastery of Mt. Sinai.¹ The prototype of our representation, which combines the above features and which is reproduced in certain variations observable in a series of Italo-Cretan icons of the 15th and 16th

centuries, is most probably connected to the Virgin of Kykkos. The prototype in question is the representation appearing in the painting of the Madonna dell'Arco² in the Monastery delle Vergini at Bitondo, with the iconography of which the icon of the Glykophilousa no.17 (pl.33) is also linked.

2. See especially the Galaktotrophousa of the Benaki Museum, which constitutes one of the most complex examples of the Italo-Cretan 15th-century Galaktotrophousa and one of those most closely related to our representation (*Affreschi e Icone* 1986, No.75, pl. on p.122, where find also the earlier bibliography).

3. Grozdanov 1980, pl.23.

4. Frinta, op.cit.

5. Chatzidakis 1977, No.46, p.93, pl.102.

The differences which may be observed in comparing our Glykophilousa with the Madonna dell'Arco - the covered legs of the Child supported by the Virgin's hand beneath them in our icon, in contrast to the Infant's bare legs through which the Madonna dell'Arco slips her left hand, as also in the Kykkotissa - most probably indicate that the latter was copied from an intermediate model, a variation of the Madonna dell'Arco, which we must perhaps seek somewhere in Dalmatia.

The differences which may be observed in comparing our Glykophilousa with the Madonna dell'Arco - the covered legs of the Child supported by the Virgin's hand beneath them in our icon, in contrast to the Infant's bare legs through which the Madonna dell'Arco slips her left hand, as also in the Kykkotissa - most probably indicate that the latter was copied from an intermediate model, a variation of the Madonna dell'Arco, which we must perhaps seek somewhere in Dalmatia.

This view is reinforced by the attribution of the westernising representation of the Madonna dell'Arco to a Dalmatian workshop³ combining the traditional Palaeologan iconography with Western elements, in accord with the requirements of the client - most probably a Franciscan - who had commissioned the work. We know that 16th-century Cretan workshops also worked for Dalmatian clients, the best-known of these workshops being that of the Pitzamani.⁴ Our icon, bearing a close relationship to the art of Donatos Pitzamanos in particular, must be dated on the basis of its stylistic features to the first half of the 16th century, a period during which Donatos Pitzamanos was working for Dalmatian clients. The resemblance of our icon, as regards the painter's technical and artistic means, to the Virgin Enthroned between St. Francis and St. Catherine (a work by Donatos Pitzamanos, now in the Pinacoteca Provinciale in Bari⁵) - the bright blue ground and the light-coloured ochre in the garments of the figures which we find here also - lead us to ascribe the

Glykophilousa of Patmos to this well-known Cretan artist.

Bibliography: Chatzidakis 1977, No.46, p.93, pl.102.

1. Mouriki 1990, pl.19.

19. The Virgin and Child

Athens, Byzantine Museum (Λ 337- ΣΑ 287).

Dimensions: 0.425 x 0.33 m.

Late 15th - early 16th century.

Plates 36, 37.



The Virgin is depicted here with the Child reclining in both her arms, in a representation very close to the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa with the feature of the Child's bare leg (see introductory note on the type). The Virgin is clad in her closed mourning maphorion and inclines her head towards the Child, her lips very close to his.

With her right hand she supports his legs, and lightly touches his shoulder with her fingertips.

The difference between this icon and the other icons of the Virgin Glykophilousa with Christ the Lamb is that the detail, here, of the Child's bare leg is not present. In our icon, the Infant's legs are carefully covered by his himation. This iconographic difference, in an icon which in other respects follows the type of the Glykophilousa with Christ the Lamb, perhaps indicates the existence of an ancient and revered common prototype, reproduced in variants by 15th-century Cretan workshops. This version does not seem to have finally become predominant in the 15th century, and the representation preferred is that of the similar Glykophilousa in which the Child's leg is bare. This might perhaps be explained by the natural preference of the faithful for more easily understood formulas, in terms of the significance and symbolisms of the representations.

In spite of the above, there is an iconographic precedent for this type of representation in an unpublished icon of the Monastery of Mt. Sinai originating from a 15th-century Cretan workshop. The variation in our representation appears to emerge in the late 15th century, at the time when the frequent commissions to Cretan painters for large numbers of icons of the Virgin required the development of new iconographic formulas.

2. *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, No.34, pl. on p.72. Frinta 1987, p.15, fig.9.

3. Frinta op.cit.

4. Chatzidakis 1974a, pp.195-196.

5. *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* op.cit., No.50.

A characteristic element which allows us to make a case for our icon having belonged to one of the above commissions is that of the Virgin's gold-embroidered maphorion, which brings to mind the particular preference of a Venetian merchant, who commissioned seven hundred icons in 1499 from well-known artists in Candia, such as Nikolaos Gripiotis and the less well known Mitsokonstantinos. Among the particular requirements specified by this client was also the type of maphorion for the Virgin, which he wished to be of *broca d'oro* (brocaded), and which has most probably been rendered rather naively in our icon by means of the cruciform gold embellishments on the Virgin's maphorion. Also attesting to this icon having been part of a commission for a Roman Catholic client are both the Virgin's transparent Western-type veil under her head covering, which is not characteristic of this type, and her narrow, almond-shaped eyes.

In spite of the above, the representation cannot easily be classed among the so-called Italo-Cretan works, since the above-mentioned western elements have been assimilated and amalgamated with the Eastern Orthodox mode of expression, which mainly characterises the work. Its entire iconographic scheme, moreover - familiar to us from important works of great 15th-century Cretan artists such as Angelos and Andreas Ritzos, who painted the type of the Glykophilousa with Christ the Lamb in her arms (see pl.5 and pl.2 respectively), from which the variation of our icon seems to originate - does not argue in favour of the inclusion of the work among those executed in the "*maniera a la latina*". Also, the austere Cretan ethos of the figures and the contained grief expressed in the Virgin's countenance are conducive to the same view.

Finally, particular stylistic features of the icon, such as the exceedingly long fingers and wide wrists of the Virgin's hands, the simple and undefined foliate decoration on her punched halo, and, more generally, the poor technical resources employed in the rendering of the representation, lead us to ascribe the work to a rather unimportant workshop of the late 15th or early 16th century.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Cattapan 1972, p.212.



Pl. 2 Andreas Ritzos The Virgin Glykophilousa (no. 2) Rome Private Collection Third quarter of the 15th century



Pl. 3. Detail of pl. 2

Pl. 4. Detail of pl. 2





Pl. 5. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no. 1). Naxos, Chora, Church of the Prophet Elijah. First half of the 15th century.



Pl. 6. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no. 1) , with silver covering. Naxos. Chora. Church of the Prophet Elijah.
First half of the 15th century.



Pl. 7. The Virgin Chloupilousa (no. 3). Kalamata, Kaloussiou Monastery, Creta. Second half of the 15th century.



Pl. 8. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no. 4). Crete. Gouvernetto Monastery. 15th century.



Pl. 9. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no 5). Mytilene. Ecclesiastical Museum. Late 15th century.

Pl. 10. Detail of pl. 9





Pl. 11. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no. 6). Thessalonike. D. Ekonomopoulos Collection. Early 16th century.



Pl. 12. Detail of pl. 11



Pl. 13. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no. 7). Athens. Private Collection. Early 16th century.



Pl. 14. Detail of pl. 13



Pl. 15. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.7) with silver covering. Athens. Private collection. Early 17th century.



Pl. 16. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no. 8). Albania. Berat Museum. 16th century.



Pl. 17. Detail of pl. 16



Pl. 18. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no. 9). Athens. G. Tsakyriglou Collection. 17th century.



Pl. 19. The Virgin Glykophilousa, the Blacherna (no. 10). Cephalonia. Church of the Evangelistria. Late 15th-early 16th century.

Pl. 20. Detail of pl. 19





Pl. 21. The Presentation in the Temple. Double-sided panel of a triptych (obverse) (no. 11). Athens. Private Collection. 16th century.



Pl. 22. Detail of pl. 21



Pl. 23. The Presentation in the Temple. Panel of a triptych (no. 13). Athens. Private Collection. Late 16th century.



Pl. 24. Detail of pl. 23



Pl. 25. The Presentation in the Temple (no.14). Zakynthos. Museum. 17th century.

Pl. 26. Detail of pl. 25

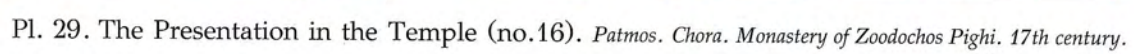




Pl. 27. Philotheos Skoufos. The Presentation in the Temple (no.15). Athens. Byzantine Museum. 1669.

Pl. 28. Detail of pl. 27





Pl. 29. The Presentation in the Temple (no.16). *Patmos. Chora. Monastery of Zoodochos Pighi. 17th century.*





Pl. 30. Detail of pl. 29



Pl. 31. Detail of pl.29



Pl. 32. The Presentation in the Temple (no.12). Crete. Parish of Spelia, Kissamos. Late 16th century.



Pl. 33. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.17). Second half of the 15th century.



Pl. 34. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.18). Patmos. Church of the Virgin Diasozousa. Early 16th century..



Pl. 35. Detail of pl. 34



Pl. 36. Virgin and Child (no.19). Athens. Byzantine Museum (Λ 337-ΣΛ287). Late 15th-early 16th century.



Pl. 37. Detail of pl. 36



Christ Anapeson in a representation of the Virgin Glykophilousa

The representation constitutes a variant of the Virgin Glykophilousa holding Christ in both arms.

Here, again, the Virgin brings the Child very close to her and tenderly presses her face to his. The new elements which appear here and which are determinative of the variation, concern mainly the iconography of the Child, and particularly the position of his left hand. Christ - pictured with broad shoulders, a wide chest, a sturdy, compactly built neck and childish features, with chubby cheeks, a small, short, round-tipped nose, a small mouth and a short chin - half reclines in his mother's arms. His arm is bent upwards, and with his small hand he caresses the lower part of her face. He rests his legs, bent at the knees, on the Virgin's left arm, and turns up the sole of his right foot. He wears an infant's chiton embellished with a floral decoration and girdled at the waist with a pleated sash, and a richly draped gold-threaded himation, which falls low at the waist and covers his legs.

Iconographically, the representation is found in a series of icons using the techniques and resources of the early Cretan workshops of the 15th century. Among the most important ones, we might mention the icon of the Loverdos Collection, now in the Byzantine Museum, no. A501¹ (pl.41), the Paris² icon, which is of interest owing to its having been attributed to Andreas Ritzos, icon no.69 of the former Likhachev³ collection and icon no.67 from the same Collection,⁴ the Virgin of Chania,⁵ the Virgin of Zakynthos⁶ (pl.43), the large icon of the Benaki Museum (pl.45) with the contested signature of Emmanuel Lambardos,⁷ the icon in a private collection in London,⁸ icon no.292 of the Loverdos Collection (pl.44), icon no.3614¹⁰ of the Patriarchate of Rumania(pl.47), and the 16th-century icon in the Louvre.¹¹

In all the representations of the group, the iconography of the type is faithfully repeated with only minimal and insignificant deviations. In icon no.67 of the Likhachev Collection, the Child's chiton is gold-embroidered and does not have the floral decoration characteristic of this type, and found in all the other icons of the series. It differs also in its colour, which there, as in our icon, is deep blue, in contrast to the others, in which the Child's chiton is greyish-blue. Another iconographic deviation char-

acterises the Paris icon, that of the Virgin of Zakynthos, and that of the Benaki Museum. In all three, the right hand of the Virgin, which clasps the Child close to her breast, is portrayed lower down, at the level of the sash encircling the Child's waist. This difference in the position of the Virgin's hand also necessitates a different disposition, at this point, of the maphorion, which now covers the Virgin's hand to the base of her fingers. On the contrary, in the other representations, the Virgin's hand projects through the opening of the maphorion, which also allows the cuffs of her sleeved chiton to show. We believe that the small iconographic deviation from the prototype in these three cases is most probably the result of the necessity, on the part of the workshop which produced them, to vary the conventional pattern in certain details, perhaps because it had to reproduce it in such large numbers.¹²

Of interest also is the fact that only in two icons of the group are the haloes decorated with a punched foliate scroll. In some, indeed, as in our icon, it is difficult even to discern the tracing of the halo's outline. This is perhaps indicative of a certain simplification in the execution of the work, made necessary by the pressure of a large order requiring from the workshop a mass production of the type.

The fact that the iconographic differences in the repetition of the type are few and insignificant attests to its faithful reproduction by the 15th-century Cretan workshops, and is most probably due to the high artistic quality and the theological completeness of some ancient and revered prototype. It is worth noting that its standard iconographic elements can be found separately, incorporated in other variations of the Virgin Glykophilousa, whose origins go back to the middle Byzantine period. In particular, the gesture of Christ's left hand touching his mother's chin, which constitutes a basic characteristic of the type, is also seen in all the known icons of the Virgin Pelagonitissa.¹³ In spite of the strange and intricate position of the Child in the latter, the two faces are again very close to each other, the Child is clad in the same short sleeveless chiton, and his himation has now dropped altogether over his mother's arms. Present, also, is the emphasis on the Child's bare sole, which here is depicted up-

turned. This detail, which often coexists with the portrayal of the Child dressed in the same manner in icons of the Virgin of Kykkos,¹⁴ leads us to believe that a common Byzantine prototype - most probably in the form of the Virgin Kykotissa - created a cycle of representations in which the main element was their common theological meaning.¹⁵

This is confirmed by the iconographic relationship between icon T137 of the Byzantine Museum, which foreshadows the variant of the Glykophilousa we are examining, and the Virgin of Kykkos. The Child is dressed in the same way in both representations, and is in the same position and attitude. His legs are apart and bare, open, too, are his arms in their wide gesture. The icon of the Byzantine Museum, which has been dated to the 12th century,¹⁶ is the first to display the majority of the elements which we have been examining. The gesture of the Child's left hand is the same, as are his sleeveless chiton, the fallen himation, the sturdy shoulders, the rounded features of the face, the upturned sole (here in an open and more complex movement of the legs), and similar, too, the emotional and symbolic closeness of the two figures.

This iconographic type, fully formulated and enriched with new elements, becomes established much later, in the 14th century, and prevails throughout the 15th century, especially in Macedonia.¹⁷ Among the most important surviving examples of works of the period are the icon of the Philotheou Monastery¹⁸ on Mt. Athos, which has been dated to the 14th century on the basis of its stylistic features, the Virgin Rassiotissa,¹⁹ on a mural over the western entrance to the church of the same name in Kastoria,²⁰ dated to 1411, the representation of the Virgin Eleousa on a wall painting in the church of Aghios Alypios in Kastoria (fig. 12a), and the fresco on the same subject above the western entrance to the church of the Monastery of Treskavatch²¹ dating from 1430. The new elements which appear in these four representations of the Glykophilousa once again concern the figure of the Child, who is rendered here with his feet crossed and bare. He wears only the familiar embroidered sleeveless chiton, and his sash is tied in front, over the breast, with a large crossed knot. His himation no longer falls back from the shoulders, but slips down under his legs, with its pointed edge hanging downwards.

The new element of the Child's crossed legs, now covered by his himation, appears also in the icon of the Benaki Museum²² (pl. 39), an icon which provides us with valuable information for our study and which we consider to be a parallel of the 14th-century — most probably Constantinopolitan — prototype followed by the paintings of our group.

Symbolism of the representation *

We have already pointed out that the representation of the Glykophilousa constitutes a complex iconographic scheme particularly charged with special semeiological, symbolic and theological connotations, and with a proven allusion to the Incarnation and the Passion.²³ Without comments and indicative inscriptions, the different variations of the representation convey their meaning through a particular semeiology, through the particular iconographic elements of each one. From this point of view, the decoding of similar meanings in the Glykophilousa, also, assumes a particular interest. As we have mentioned in detail, the variation of the Glykophilousa which we are examining is mainly defined by the position and movement of the Child. The Christ Child is portrayed half-reclining in his mother's arms, with his legs apart and his upper body slightly raised. His left arm is bent upwards and his hand seems to caress the lower part of the Virgin's face.

We believe that the entire position of the half-reclining Child in his mother's arms is implied in the characterisation of "*reclining child*", used by the Patriarch Photius to describe Christ in the arms of the Virgin. In his well-known Homily, delivered from the pulpit of the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople when *the form of the Mother of God was pictured and she was revealed*, Photius, referring to the Virgin of the new representation, said: "*A virgin mother, carrying in her pure arms, for the common salvation of our kind, the common Creator, reclining as an infant, that great and ineffable mystery of the Dispensation*".²⁴

According to a scholarly interpretation,²⁵ ανακλίνομαι means κατακλίνομαι, and is a synonym of ανάκειμαι and αναπίπτω, all of which signify "to lie down, to recline". Thus, Christ, in the representation inaugurated by Photius, could be described either as ανακείμενος or as αναπεσών. It is approximately to the period of the restoration of the icons that we should look for the conception of the iconographic type of the Virgin with the reclining Infant, relieved of narrative elements but taking on a dogmatic content.

Besides, in the same Homily by Photius, the meaning of the half-reclining Child in the arms of the Virgin is identified with the *ἀφραστον της οικονομίας μυστήριον*, the ineffable mystery of the Divine Economy.

It is not accidental that the oldest representation of the Anapeson,²⁶ depicted in the Utrecht Psalter, dates from the 9th century and is most probably based on a Byzantine prototype. Christ, in the Utrecht Psalter²⁷ is portrayed as a child, lying on a bed, and resting his face on his upturned arm. The origin of the gesture, expressive of the pictorial formula

"Sleep-Death" can be traced to late antiquity.²⁸ Also contributing to the expression of this meaning is another significant iconographic detail: the crossed legs of the Child. The probable connection of the movement with the iconography of Sleep-Death is clearly expressed by Pausanias in the description of a representation of the sarcophagus of Cypselus: "(On it) is made (carved) a woman carrying a white sleeping child in her right arm, while in the other she holds a black child resembling the sleeping child, both of them (shown) with their legs crossed. The inscription states that which is easy to understand without the inscription, they are Death and Sleep, and Night is the nurse of them both".²⁹ In Pausanias' description, then, Sleep and Death are depicted as children sleeping in the arms of their mother, with their legs crossed.

The representation of the reclining infant - with his legs crossed and his hand under his face, with the symbolic meaning of Sleep-Death - exists in early Christian times, as is proven by the application of the type in the sculpted altar supports known as *trapezofora*.³⁰ It has been claimed that some of these, at least, constituted supports of funerary tables over the graves of martyrs, on which, in early Christian times, the rites of the Eucharist³¹ were performed. In spite of the serious counter-arguments according to which the tables were objects of everyday use, certain of these have been linked to sites of Christian worship.³² One of the most interesting examples, as regards our study, is the figure of a child from the *trapezoforon* of the church of St. George in Thessalonike, supported by a torch pictured upside-down; the child's legs are crossed and he, too, has his hand under his face.³³

It is worth noting here that one of the themes carved on the *trapezofora* is that of Jonas,³⁴ who, ever since the early Christian period, is portrayed mostly on sarcophagi³⁵ and on funerary murals in catacombs,³⁶ and who constitutes a symbol of Christ³⁷ fallen asleep and laid in a grave. This connection, which was made by Christ himself (Matthew 12:39-40), is also referred to by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who says of Jonas "he foretold, in deed, as in form, the tomb and the strange resurrection and imperishability of our Lord Jesus Christ".³⁸

In most of the representations of Jonas on the sarcophagi and the funerary murals of the catacombs, his half-reclining figure is depicted with his legs bare and crossed. The representation of Death himself, however, in the Oktateuch and the three manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes³⁹ (in Vat. gr.699.f.56r, in Sin.gr.1186, f.93v and in Laur. Plut.IX 28.f.118v) shows, on the left of the standing figure of Enoch, a youthful figure sitting up, with his legs crossed.⁴⁰ According to Indicopleustes's text, Enoch "was promised by God not to see death, as the

Holy Writ saith, that it be thus foretold unto you that death shall not prevail over men, but shall be confounded, as it came to pass with our Lord Christ by whom his (death's) dominion was overthrown".⁴¹ Here the correlation between the Old and the New Testaments is made with reference to the death of Christ and, through it, to the abolition of death.

Returning to the Utrecht Psalter and to the funerary significance of the representation of Christ Anapeson, pictured there too with crossed legs, we note that the Latin inscription which accompanies the representation is from David's 44th Psalm (verse 23): "Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? arise, cast us not off for ever." This same Psalm, however, which in the Utrecht manuscript is illustrated by a depiction of the Anapeson, is expressed in the Chludov Psalter⁴² by a representation of Christ's tomb and the Women bearing ointments.

According to the *Hermeneia*⁴³ the Psalm also relates to the Burial, to which is also considered to refer the relevant verse of Genesis (49:9): "...he stooped down (*αναπεσών*), he couched as a Lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?" - with which we are familiar mainly from the inscriptions which accompany the Palaeologan representation of the Anapeson.

Verse 12 from Psalm 10 has also been linked to the Burial and the Resurrection ("Arise, O Lord; O God, lift up thine hand: forget not the humble"), which in the Chludov Psalter too is expressed by a representation of Christ lain in the tomb, with the lower part of his legs bare and crossed. Finally, in the same manuscript the Virgin Glykophilousa⁴⁵ in a rough drawing, is depicted upright and holding Christ on her left, with the Child seated in her lap with his legs bare and crossed. The miniature illustrates Mary's song upon hearing the words of the Angel (Luke 1:47-55), which clearly refers to the Incarnation. According to the interpretation of the passage by N. Damalas: "here the great and wondrous works are the annunciation of the conception and the supernatural conception itself, which is the miracle of miracles".⁴⁶ Obvious, here too, as in most representations of this valuable and precious Chludov manuscript, is the preference, which began to manifest itself gradually after 843, for depictions of the Incarnation,⁴⁷ the truth of which is confirmed also by the Passion.⁴⁸

The connection of the depiction of the Chludov Virgin with the Passion and the symbolism of Christ's crossed legs is proven in the later mosaic of the Virgin, in the Capella Palatina of Palermo, in which the iconography is the same. There, beside the standing Virgin and Child and turning towards the Virgin, is portrayed St. John the Baptist holding a scroll in his left hand inscribed with his well-known prophecy ("Behold the Lamb of God, which

taketh away the sin of the world") with its clear reference to the future Passion of Christ.⁴⁹

Indicative of the discreet, as yet, application of this symbolism here, is the fact that neither of these two representations is characterised by any other indication or expression of the Passion. The transmutation of the Virgin and Child into the tender Glykophilousa, bearing all the characteristics of the Virgin of the Passion, appears to take place during the time of the Macedonian dynasty, as is proven by the representation of the Glykophilousa of the mid-10th century at Tokale Kilisse — a fresco which provides us with valuable information for our study — painted in the prothesis of the Sanctuary⁵⁰ — a location, moreover, which proclaims its Eucharistic character. At the end of the same century, and in the same climate, in the *Menologion* of Basil II, the ancient type of the figure of Jonas — who, as we have already mentioned, prefigures Christ and his three-day entombment — is also transmuted in a representation showing the prophet in a half-reclining posture, identical to that of the Anapeson. The upper part of his body is clad only in his chiton, while his himation, which falls to his waist, covers his crossed legs.⁵¹ His right hand supports his head, which is slightly inclined to the left, in a gesture which is similar to that of the Child touching the chin of the Virgin in the iconography of our representation. Also, in the Virgin of the miniature of the Berlin Psalter,⁵² which appears to repeat a similar representation of the Washington Psalter⁵³ and which is dated to the end of the 11th century, the type of variation which we are examining appears already fully formulated and very close to icon T137 of the Byzantine Museum, which has been considered the earliest depiction of this iconographic form. The Virgin is now deeply inclined towards the Child, the two faces coming close to one another, the Virgin's left hand slips through the Child's bare legs, in almost the same manner as in the icon of the Byzantine Museum. It is obvious that the theological teachings of Photius, as they have been incorporated into the Chludov Psalter, are now felicitously applied in wonderful pictorial forms with a humanistic quality, which, besides, characterises the entire artistic expression of the Macedonian dynasty and its period.

To the same period must be assigned also most of the well-known and established Byzantine iconographic forms, such as the Vladimir Virgin (a marvellous precursor of which has been discovered in the Glykophilousa of Tokale Kilisse⁵⁴) and the Virgin of Kykkos, which is identical in certain points to icon T137 of the Byzantine Museum, which started a whole cycle of representations influencing also the iconography of the Glykophilousa in the West.⁵⁵ An

important landmark in the pictorial application of the doctrinal meanings of the Passion as a means of proof of the Divine Incarnation is, in our view, the Virgin Arakiotissa of Cyprus,⁵⁶ which now expresses clearly and with external symbols the true significance of the Virgin with the reclining Infant.

Much later, in the 14th century, the variant of the Glykophilousa we are studying reappears, fully formulated, as we have seen, giving us such important works as the icon of the Philotheou Monastery on Mount Athos and the Palaeologan icon on the same theme in the Benaki Museum. However, the wide application and definite establishment of the type dates to the early 15th century, as is proven by the multitude of examples which have been preserved both in murals of Macedonian monuments of this period and in Cretan icons.

The reappearance of the type in the 14th century and its wide application in the 15th is connected, we believe, with the new theological disputes of the period and with the particularly difficult socio-historical conditions, which led to the establishment of representations that were in accord with the hesychastic spirit and its gloomy climate.

The theme of the Anapeson⁵⁸ also reappears at this time in wall paintings, icons, embroideries and manuscripts, with allusions to the Entombment and the Resurrection of Christ. The symbols of the Passion accompany representations such as that of the Melismos⁵⁹ — now rendered in a more realistic manner⁶⁰ — of the Anapeson,⁶¹ the Resurrection,⁶² and the Virgin Glykophilousa in several variations and, especially, in the iconography of the Virgin of the Passion.

The reclining Infant becomes one of the most important choices of the period for expressing the semeiology of the Passion, and he is pictured not only in the Virgin's arms but also in the arms of Simeon. In the same representation and in many of the depictions of the Anapeson we also see applied the detail of the crossed legs of Christ. Without exception, this detail characterises all the Macedonian representations of the variant of the Glykophilousa which we are studying. But the symbolism of the Passion conveyed by the image of the reclining Infant seems by now to be so well known that, from the early 15th century on, this realistic detail of the bare crossed legs of the Child loses ground and is no longer used in the more idealistic and more classical representations of Cretan art. Its place is taken by the position of the Child with his legs spread apart and covered by his himation, and with the sole of one of his feet turned up, a feature which was also incorporated into the semeiology of the Passion.⁶⁴

As has already been mentioned, in these representations Christ wears a sleeveless embroidered

chiton with a sash around his waist; in some cases, two vertical bands beginning at his shoulders end up at the sash. This characteristic detail in the iconography of the Anapeson and the Child of our icon probably originates from the inscription which usually accompanies the Palaeologan representation of the Anapeson. As is known, this inscription is linked to Genesis 49:9, in which Jacob addresses himself to his fourth son, Judah, as follows: "Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up; he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?"⁶⁵ Regarding the reference to Judah, Cyril of Alexandria observes: "The saying refers to him who issued from the tribe of Judah, to the incarnated Christ".⁶⁶ The same reference is made in the third *Idiomelon* of the Lauds of the Matins of Holy Saturday: "O come, ye who behold in sleep the son of Judah". Later, in the same *Idiomelon*, Christ is also referred to as king: "Thou couchest as a lion; who shall rouse thee up a king?" A similar allusion to Christ is made in the Revelation of St. John (5:5), to which is added also a reference to his relationship to David: "Lo, the lion of the tribe of Judah is victorious, the root of David". This metaphor related to Christ is also made in Revelation 22:16: "I Jesus... I am the root and the offspring of David". Still clearer and more specific, however, as to the origin of Christ Anapeson from David is Andreas of Crete, who links the lion and the cub of Genesis with Christ and with his royal descent from David: "A cub, they say, of a lion. Who, verily, but Christ, sprung from royal seed, that of David? And it is not unmeet that the lion bespeaketh David, as it becometh his royal condition, and the cub of the lion it is he that in the flesh did come from him, even Christ, as is spoken in the prophecy".⁶⁷

However, if the semantic relationship of the Anapeson with David is indeed proved by the above, it is obvious that the wide sash around the waist of the Anapeson — which is sometimes tied in a large knot, as in all the Macedonian representations of the Glykophilousa which we are examining — is connected with the same sash which girds the short and similarly sleeveless chiton of David⁶⁸ in all the Byzantine representations of the young offspring of Judah (ill. 12a-b).

Lastly, the connection between the reclining Child of our icon and the Anapeson is also indicated in other ways. As has been observed, the Anapeson is usually portrayed above the western entrance into the church, or in areas related to the preparation of the Eucharist, as in the Prothesis or elsewhere in the Sanctuary.⁶⁹ The place it occupies in the Sanctuary is in accord with the eucharistic nature of the representation. The position of the Anapeson above the entrance door,⁷⁰ has also been interpreted and connected with the open eyes of the figure. The de-

tail is also related to the Resurrection, which is foreshadowed in the same chapter of Genesis with which the representation has been linked, and particularly in the question of the verse: "and who shall rouse him up?" The semantic relationship of the verse with the Resurrection had already been pointed out by Theodoretos Kyrou, who, referring to it, writes: "Who shall rouse him up; it showeth his unutterable power. For he has raised himself up, according to his own prophecy".⁷¹ The sense of the bright, resurrected form of the lion cub is given in verses 23:24 of Numbers: "Behold, the people shall rise up as a great lion and lift up himself as a young lion", while the meaning of Christ's Resurrection is conveyed also in the representation of the Glykophilousa of the Loverdos Collection (pl. 44) by the exceedingly intense gaze of the Child and the detail of his himation fluttering to the left and behind his shoulder. Besides, we know that one of the principal characteristics of the iconography of the Descent into Hell is Christ's fluttering himation, in which representation it is, of course, emphasised even more strongly. The bright gaze of the Child in the Anapeson, which is not unrelated to his characterisation as "unsleeping eye", and which is a feature mainly seen in Macedonian painting, makes the Anapeson the ever-wakeful guardian of the church from his position above the entrance door.

It is not accidental, therefore, as regards the connection of the Anapeson with the Virgin of the representation we are examining, that the Virgin Rassiotissa in Kastoria⁷² and the Virgin of Treskavatc are also painted, as is the Anapeson, above the entrance door. Nor is it by chance that the Virgin with the reclining Infant in her arms is invoked, during the Parakletic prayer in the short Vespers of Saturday, as "she who did hold in her arms the unsleeping eye".

*A large part of the conclusions of this hermeneutic approach to the above representation has been published in Greek in the Bulletin of the Christian Archaeological Society, (ΔΧΑΕ, περ. Δ' vol. ΙΣΤ') (1991/1992), pp. 219-238, in memory of A. Grabar. Their presentation here, once again, was considered necessary because of their particularly important contribution to the iconography of the Virgin and Child in which the iconographic elements of the future Passion of Christ are strongly emphasised — which point constitutes the main theme of this study.

1. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1946, No.501. Baltoyanni 1992, p.219.
2. Cattapan 1973, p.277, pl.H'. The icon presents all the characteristics of the style of Andreas Ritzos, as evidenced in the large, schematized lighted planes of the faces, and the beautifully drawn eyes of the Virgin with the large black irises and the deep curving line under the lower eyelids. The faultless technical execution of the work, as is proved by the exceedingly polished surface of the painting, leads us to assign it to Ritzos' workshop.
3. Likhachev 1906/1908, pl.XXXVI. In spite of the faithful application of the same iconographic type in the icon of the Likhachev Collection, the artistic atmosphere of the work betrays a closer relationship of the workshop with the so-called Italo-Cretan icons of the second half of the 15th century. Among the characteristic features of this group of works we note the slanting and narrow eyes of the Virgin, the scimitar-shaped eyebrows, the bright and translucent underpaint of the flesh and the dreamy gaze of Mother and Son. A similar relationship is evidenced by the technique of the bright geometric folds of the Virgin's maphorion, which are delineated by narrow, harsh white lines. See also Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, pl.III B.
4. Likhachev op.cit. pl.XXXVII. From the same Collection see also an icon on the same theme, which constitutes yet another example of the repetition of the type in the third quarter of the 15th century (*Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, No.3, pp.331-333, pl.3 [Piatnitsky]), as also No.6 (pp.337-338 pl.6 [Piatnitsky]) of the same catalogue.
5. Borboudakis 1975, No.30, pl.30.
6. Konomos 1964, p.137, ill. on p.137.
7. Xyngopoulos 1936, No.13, pl.13.
8. *Fine Icons* (Dec.1981), No.36. Th. Chatzidakis 1982, No.6. Hadermann-Misguich 1983, p.14, ill.5.
9. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1946, No.292. Baltoyanni 1992, p.219.
10. *Εικόνες της Ρουμανίας* 1993, No.1, pp.40-41, pl. on pp.40 and 41.
11. *Byzance - L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* 1992, No.374.
12. The Virgin's hand, shown in the same position, rendered in the same way, and covered by the same curve of her maphorion, appears also in the Virgin Kardiotissa no.T1582 of the Byzantine Museum, signed by Angelos. This similarity provides added evidence supporting the view that this small differentiation of the type, too, was created using elements of Angelos' work.
13. On the icons of the Pelagonitissa see Beljaev 1930, pp.386-392. Among the oldest representations on the same subject is the mural in Staro Nagoricino (1316-1318); see Chatzidakis, Babić 1983, pl. on p.175. Among the best known also are the Eleousa of Decani (see Grabar 1975b, pp.25-30, ill.2), the icon of Sinai (G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.235; 1958, No.235), the Pelagonitissa by the painter Makarios in Skopje (Djurić, Medaković 1978, No.92, Hadermann-Misguich 1983, p.11).
14. It is not possible to study the original icon of the Virgin of Kykkos, hidden under its silver sheathing. To approach the representation iconographically, researchers usually make use of the icon of the Glykophilousa of Sinai (see G. and M. Sotiriou op.cit., plates 54 and 545), and also of later icons in Cyprus which copy the theme. Among the best known of these is the Kykkotissa in the church of the Chrysalinotissa in Nicosia (see Papageorgiou 1969, ill. on p.48).
15. Regarding observations on the iconography of the Virgin of Kykkos and its influence on the creation of other similar iconographic schemes see Mouriki 1985/1986, p.27.
16. Icon T137 of the Byzantine Museum was discovered after a later layer of painting covering it had been removed in the workshops of the Byzantine Museum by Stavros Baltoyannis. Chatzidakis 1976, pp.333-366. *Exhibition on the centenary of the Christian Archaeological Society* 1985, No.4, p.15 (Chatzidakis).
17. Chatzidakis, op.cit.
18. It has been recently dated to the middle of the 14th century; see Tsigaridas 1992, p.654.
19. Gounaris 1978, p.157.
20. Orlandos 1938, pp.173-175, fig.117. Pelekanidis 1953, pl.178. The dating of the representation to 1422, which had been suggested by Orlandos, was reviewed by Tsigaridas, who places it at the end of the 14th century. See Tsigaridas op.cit. p.655.
21. Subotić 1971, fig.28.
22. Xyngopoulos, op.cit., No.1, pl.1. Delivorrias 1980, p.37, pl.28.
23. Pallas 1965, p.167 ff. For the first observations on the particular symbolism of the representation see Chatzidakis 1976, pp.333-336.
24. Aristarchos 1900, p.299. Mango 1958, p.290.
25. Liddel-Scott, *Μέγα Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*, p.172, 171, 184.
26. On the subject of the Christ Anapeson, see Grabar 1928, pp.256-262. Pallas 1965, p.167.

27. Pallas op.cit., p.190. Dufrenne 1978, p.135, pl.84.
28. Lessing 1769, VIII, p.14.
29. Pausanias, *Ελλάδος Περιήγησις*, V.18.1
30. Stephanidou-Tiberiou, 1985.
31. Lehmann-Hartleben 1923/1924, p.270 ff.
32. Stephanidou-Tiberiou op.cit., p.15.
33. Op.cit., p.92, fig. on p.93.
34. Kitzinger 1978, I, p.664.
35. Grabar 1968, p.8, figs.2,22,27.
36. Op.cit., p.141.
37. Op.cit., p.141.
38. Wolska-Conus 1970, II, p.225 "τοῦ τάφου καὶ τὴν παράδοξον ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ὡς ἐν τύπῳ δι' ἔργων προεμήνυσε τοῦ Δεσπότη ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ".
39. Mouriki-Charalambous 1970, pp.27-33.
40. Wolska-Conus op.cit., p.125.
41. Op.cit.
42. Schepkina 1977 f.49r.
43. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909, p.86.
44. Schepkina op.cit. f.9v.
45. Op.cit. f.162v.
46. Damalas 1892, B, p.83 "ἐνταῦθα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά ἔργα εἰσιν ἡ ἀναγγελία τῆς συλλήψεως καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ὑπερφυῆς σύλληψις, ἥτις ἐστὶ θαῦμα θαυμάτων".⁴⁶
47. Grabar 1984, p.258.
48. Grabar op.cit. p.241. The development of the cycle of the Passion with the multiple depictions of the Resurrection in the Chludov Psalter was linked there to the theological dispute of the time.
49. Demus 1949, p.309, pl.22. The Child's crossed feet, there, and the upturned sole puzzled the researcher and were attributed to a possible restoration of the representation in that particular area.
50. Thierry 1979, p.59, ills.2 and 13.
51. Beckwith 1970, ill.192.
52. Cuttler 1984, ill.100.
53. Op.cit., ill.319.
54. Thierry op.cit., p.59.
55. Mouriki 1985/1986, p.27.
56. G. Sotiriou 1953-54, A, pp.87-91.
57. On the desperate social, political and economic situation of Byzantium at this time see Geanakoplos 1984, p.12. On the deep crisis and anxiety of the Byzantine society in the 14th and 15th centuries see Vryonis 1991, pp.5-6.
58. Grabar 1928, pp.256-262. Pallas 1965, pp.181-196.
59. Theohari 1956, p.138. Drandakis 1957b, pp.71-75, where, despite the absence of the Child from the *Melismos*, the symbols of the Passion appear on the Holy Altar.
60. Millet, Velmans 1969, p.XIII. Theohari op.cit., p.138.
61. Among the oldest representations is that of the Anapeson at Lesnovo, where the angel holds a cross without, as yet, the spear and the sponge (Millet, Velmans, op.cit., pl.19, ill.41). The spear and the sponge are painted later in the Peribleptos of Mystras (Millet 1910, pl.115.1). Among the most interesting examples regarding the development of this element is the representation of the Anapeson at Manasija, where the type appears complete, with the two angels, now shown holding the symbols of the Passion (Der Nersessian 1975, ill.10).
62. A similar development occurs in the appearance of the spear and the sponge in the hands of the angels in the representation of the Resurrection, the relationship of which with the Passion is known. Among the oldest representations is the Descent into Hell of the Peribleptos (Millet 1910, pl.116), which is followed by later representations.
63. Likhachev, op.cit., note 3, pl.XXXVIII, ill.70.
64. Baltoyanni 1994, pp.23-35.
65. Xydis 1978, p.501.
66. PG 69, 349-354.
67. Papamastorakis 1989/1990, p.224. "Σχύμον, φησί, λέοντος. Τίνα τοῦτον ἢ Χριστὸν προδήλως τὸν ἐκ βασιλικοῦ καταγόμενον σπέρματος, λέγω Δαυίδ. Καὶ ἀπεικὸς οὐδὲν λέοντα μὲν νοῆσαι τὸν Δαυίδ, ὡς χαρακτηριστικόν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ αξιώματος, σχύμον δὲ λέοντος, τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φύντα κατὰ σάρκα Χριστὸν, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς προφητείας".
68. David, in his fight with Goliath, is very often shown wearing the same sash which passes over his shoulders and is tied at the waist with a large knot. An indicative example is that of the miniature from the Psalter of the Athens National Library, Codex 47 (Cuttler 1984, ill.23). Another important example is the miniature of Par.gr.139 f. 2v (Omout 1929).
69. Grabar, op.cit, note.58, p.260.
70. Op.cit., p.260.
71. PG 80, 217. "Τὶς ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν· Τὴν ἄφατον αὐτοῦ δείκνυσι δύναμιν. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀνέστηκε, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόρρησιν".
72. Gounaris 1978, p.157.

20. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Benaki Museum.

Dimensions: 0.42 x 0.305 m.

14th century.

Plates 39, 40.



The icon of the Benaki Museum represents the Virgin and Child in the same iconographic type as the one we are examining. Its earlier dating to the 12th century has already been revised, and its assignment to the 14th century, a view which has been put forward elsewhere,¹ is now being proposed with greater certainty, for the reason that, beyond the Palaeologan character of the representation, as expressed in particular by the physiognomic similarity of the Child with the Christ Child in the Virgin's arms in the Don² icon and the transformation of the iconographic scheme into a more idealised and more classical form, the icon also presents other elements, which are conclusive both in determining the dating of the work to the 14th century, and as regards its relationship with the art of the great centres of the West in the same century. Among the particular features pointing to the influence of Western painting, we might mention the pearl-shaped buttons on the right cuff of the Virgin's chiton, the discreetly suggested Western-type diaphanous veil with the small, white, parallel lines above the head-covering, the pseudo-cufic decorative pattern on the gold band edging the chiton, which barely shows along the border of the neck and is seen more clearly along the edges of the maphorion, the different colour of the lining of the garment, the foliate scroll on the Virgin's punched halo and the rays between the arms of the cross on Christ's halo. The whole chromatic range of the representation also pertains to Western, and particularly to Venetian 14th-century painting. The dark blue maphorion of the Virgin with its brownish tints, the brownish-pink, muted tone of her chiton, as well as the deep olive green, lightened by tonal gradations, of the lining of the maphorion, which can be made out below her left arm, are elements which are not found in Palaeologan painting. Above all, foreign to the Palaeologan tradition and usual in Western painting is the bright red headband of the Virgin. Moreover, most of the above elements of the icon are to be found in the work of Paolo Veneziano and his school.³ The row of buttons on the cuffs of the chiton is often encountered in works by the Venetian painter, as, for

instance, in the elderly figure beside the mother in childbed, in an icon representing the birth of St. Nicholas in a private collection in Florence,⁴ in a kneeling figure seen below and on the left, in a representation of the life of Beato Leone Bembo (in the church of St. Blaise at Dignano in Istria),⁵ in the central figure - below and on the right - of the three figures depicted in the Crucifixion in the Byzantine Museum,⁶ which has been attributed to the school of Paolo Veneziano, as well as in an icon representing the burial of St. Sebastian, in the Duomo in Padua,⁷ signed by Nicoletto Semitecolo, who carried on the tradition of the same school. To this type of painting also belongs the chromatic range of the icon with the Virgin's red head band and the discreet, as yet, presence of the diaphanous white veil - one of the standard features of Paolo Veneziano's work, as we see it in the painting of the enthroned Virgin,⁸ in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice and in that of the Coronation of the Virgin,⁹ in the same Gallery. The deep blue of the Virgin's maphorion with its brown tints also belongs to this Venetian artist's characteristic palette, as well as the soft rosy tones of her chiton. To the same artistic ambience must also be attributed the large eyes of the Virgin, slanting at the edges, and her excessively sorrowful gaze, which loses some of the vividness of the intense Palaeologan expression.

In conclusion, we may say that in this icon — with its more refined Constantinopolitan features, which have been found only in the Virgin of Don, and incorporating elements suggestive of the great artistry of Paolo Veneziano — we see the marks of a 14th-century Constantinopolitan workshop conversant with the art of Venice, which at this time still recalls the Byzantine style.

Bibliography: Xyngopoulos 1936, no.1, pl.1. Delivorrias 1980, p.37, coloured plate 28. Baltoyianni 1991/1992, pp.224-226, ill.7.

1. In a paper I presented at the Benaki Museum in June 1983 (unpublished), I dated the icon to the 14th century. Baltoyianni 1985, p.49. Vassilaki 1991, p.1213.

2. Lazarev 1967, ill.571.

3. Pallucchini op.cit, pl.X.

4. Op.cit., pl.XVII (in colour on the cover).

5. Op.cit., pl.I.

6. Chatzidakis 1969, ills.1-3

7. Pallucchini op.cit., pl.X.

8. Moschini-Marconi 1955, ill.13.

9. Op.cit., ill.12b.

21. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T501-T435).

Dimensions: 0.70 x 0.66 m.

15th century.

Plates 41, 42.



This icon constitutes one of the earliest and most important examples of the series of icons of the 15th century, the iconographic and stylistic elements of which still present a close affinity to the icons of the later Palaeologan period.

The representation of the Virgin with the Child half reclining in her arms is complemented by the two waist-length portraits of angels, in an attitude of worship, within red medallions. The deep purple maphorion of the Virgin covers her head, shoulders and arms in multiple intricate folds, and varies somewhat from the type in its disposition, in that the sides are not crossed over high up on her breast. In our icon, the mantle's visible side, edged with a narrow gold line on its reverse side, is draped over the left shoulder and falls freely in front. Through its narrow opening in front of the breast, can be discerned the dark-coloured chiton with a gold border along the neckline. A very fine gold line is also drawn around the opening of the free right sleeve of the maphorion, from which emerges the Virgin's hand with the long, tapering fingers.

The colours, rich and muted in tone, distributed unevenly over the surface of the painting, range from the deep purple of the Virgin's maphorion, which dominates the representation, through the sienna — luminous in places, such as in the Child's himation, which shimmers with the glints of the complex gold brushstrokes — to the pale, greyish-white of the Child's chiton. Finally, there are rare touches of red (most probably cinnabar) in the Child's narrow, pleated sash, and in the ground of the medallions enclosing the busts of the angels.

The link of this icon with older Palaeologan works can be seen not only in the manner in which it has been able to render, through classical means, the complex eucharistic and soteriological meaning of the representation, as shown in the interpretation of the icon's iconographic type, but also in its stylistic features, which present a kinship with the means of well-known Palaeologan icons. The comparative study of this icon, apposed to icon T1777 of the Byzantine Museum¹ (14th century), revealed that the translucent brown underpaint, over which have

been painted wheat-coloured lights — more rapidly executed and with more painterly means in the latter — have been repeated here in more conventional forms. In spite of a certain dependence on icons of the Palaeologan period, the Virgin A501, belonging to the Loverdos Collection of the Museum, distances itself from these by the presence of other elements, which assign it a place among the works of early Cretan workshops of the 15th century. Its later date and Cretan origin are indicated by the stylised expression, the schematised luminous planes of the faces (typical of Cretan art and repeated in the same format throughout the 15th century) and, mainly, by the physiognomic affinity of the Virgin with the Kardiotissa no. T1582 of the Byzantine Museum (pl. 54), signed by the well-known Cretan painter of the 15th century, Angelos.

Our representation resembles the Kardiotissa of the Byzantine Museum in the structural elements of the composition as well: the wide base of the Virgin's torso, the vertical outline of her figure on the right-hand side, and the diagonally-cut edging of her maphorion on the left bottom part are the same in both icons.

Also of interest is the similarity of the icon with the Virgin and Child in the icon of the Kapsa monastery,² where, as in our icon, the same full-bodied and strong colours are used, reminiscent of mural painting. Our representation shows a further affinity with the icon of the Kapsa Monastery in certain of its particular features, such as the depiction of the two angels in red medallions, the unadorned haloes of the two figures — which in both icons are outlined by a series of consecutive dots — and the technique of rendering the lights on the chestnut-brown underpaint without any intermediate modelling.

The icon of the Kapsa monastery, more faithful to Palaeologan iconographic forms, appears to have been executed at an earlier date than our icon, which is characterised by a more obviously Cretan ethos, one already fully developed in the figures painted by Angelos, who is most probably a later painter than the artist of the Virgin of the Kapsa monastery.

Bibliography: Baltoyianni 1992, p. 219, ill. 2.

1. Sotiriou 1924, p. 97, pl. 8. Sotiriou 1931, p. 79, ill. 32. Sotiriou 1956, p. 17, ill. XVIII. Chatzidakis 1969, pp. 29-30.

2. *Ειχόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, no. 147, p. 502, pl. 147 (Borboudakis).

22. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Zakynthos, Museum (no.113).

Dimensions: 1.05 x 0.785 m.

Second half of the 15th century.

Pl.43



The Virgin and Child of the Zakynthos Museum belongs to the variant of the Glykophilousa, holding the Child in the position and attitude of the reclining infant, which has been linked typologically and semantically with the representation of the Christ Anapeson (see the introductory note on the type).

It constitutes one of the most beautiful works of 15th-century Cretan art, and reproduces the type using the exceptional technical resources of an important Cretan workshop. The Child, reclining in his mother's arms, with his legs "riding" on her left arm and with his face against hers, holds his closed scroll upright on his right knee, and with his left hand appears to caress her chin. The Child is a sturdy and compact figure, with amazingly broad shoulders and a strong neck; he lies back trustingly in his mother's arms and gazes at the viewer with a meditative and sorrowful expression. He wears the sleeved chiton, usual in this iconographic type, with a large opening in front of the breast, and a gold and crimson sash that tightly girds his waist. The decorative bands are missing from his shoulders, and his bright gold-threaded himation has fallen low down over his legs. Its pointed edge extends behind his back and flutters out to the right. Large gold surfaces, dynamically applied, shine in complex shapes over his knees, referring us to similar elements which characterise the bright himation of the Christ Pantocrator of Zakynthos,¹ signed by Angelos.

The Virgin is clad in a purple maphorion, the small triangular opening of which reveals a small part of her chiton, which reaches to above the base of the neck. The feature is repeated in the icon on the same theme, of the Loverdos Collection, no. A501 (pl.41), which is related physiognomically to the Kardiotissa by Angelos. It is repeated also in the icon of the same Collection no.292 (pl.44), and particularly in the Chania icon,² in which the chiton comes even higher up. A striking feature is the gold band bordering the Virgin's maphorion along the edge of her head covering, in which the small luminous gold planes of varying shapes are freely applied, in an unexpected and painterly fashion. The same occurs in the simple gold band around the

edge of her chiton at the opening of the neck, where gold lights shine here and there, not always with the same intensity nor throughout the entire length of the band. The same elements, more conventionalized and repeated on the same pattern, can be seen in the Virgin in a private collection in Rome (pl.2), a work by Andreas Ritzos, which, as we believe, reproduces an icon by Angelos.

The Virgin's eyes are narrow and slanting, resembling the shape of the eyes of the Kardiotissa by Angelos (pl.54), but their gaze is softer and the grief they express is deeper. The lighter-coloured brushstrokes which highlight the edges of the cheekbones create a deep triangular shape which, in a less expressive manner, can also be seen in the Rome icon. Also, at the point of the right cheek against which is pressed the face of the Child, a narrow bright surface has been drawn, which, on the upper part, meets a smaller, triangular patch, starting from the inside of the eye. This complex rendering of the luminous planes of the face recalls the methods and artistic practices of Angelos, as they are more emphatically applied in the Glykophilousa of the church of the Prophet Elijah in Naxos (pl.5), which we have attributed to this Cretan artist.

Also recalling Angelos' technique is the translucent underpaint (executed with thinned sienna), over which have been painted the bright surfaces of the flesh. The greenish, particularly translucent underpaint is also a characteristic feature of the well-known icon of the Pantocrator of Zakynthos.

In spite of the close relationship between the Zakynthos icon and Angelos' work, other elements indicate that an artist of a later period has imitated and applied the artistic resources of the great painter. The deep sorrow in the expressions of both figures does not characterise the corresponding representations by Angelos, in which their grief is often expressed in a more contained manner. This is proven also by the sorrowful Kardiotissa (pl.54) of the Byzantine Museum, who appears to bear with dignified restraint the future Passion of her child. The same grave expression is also seen in the Glykophilousa in the church of the Prophet Elijah in Naxos, which conveys the same meaning. Moreover, the particular physiognomic traits of the Virgin are not recognisable in any of the representations of the Virgin by Angelos. Among the artistic means foreign to Angelos we might also mention the deep rosy colour of the Virgin's face, which is not used by the Cretan artist of the first half of the 15th century. On the other hand, icons by Andreas Ritzos, and particularly the enthroned Virgin of Patmos³ with the warm rosy-coloured flesh tones, do present this feature.

One more element connects our icon with the

painting of Andreas Ritzos. As has already been observed, the right hand of the Virgin, which rests on the Child's shoulder, is covered, all the way up to the base of the fingers by the free sleeve of her maphorion. The introduction of this element, which slightly varies the type (see introductory note), can also be observed in the icon that, at one time, had been located in Paris and had been attributed to Andreas Ritzos.⁴

From the latter elements, which are indicative of the kinship of our icon with the painting of Andreas Ritzos, it would seem that we might safely ascribe the Zakynthos icon to a very good artist of the second half of the 15th century, who remains faithful to the artistic form of Angelos, while being aware, at the same time, of the innovations of Andreas Ritzos.

23. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Loverdos Collection (no.292).¹

Dimensions: 0.45 x 0.33 m.

15th century.

Pl.44.



The Virgin is portrayed

as Glykophilousa, in the variant showing the Christ Child as a *reclining infant*. The Virgin holds the Child tightly in her arms on her right, and inclines her head deeply towards him. The close embrace of the two figures brings Christ's face very close to the face of his mother, exerting a slight

pressure on her right cheek. The Christ Child is depicted with outstretched legs, which are covered by his himation; his upper body is slightly raised. His right foot is turned up, with its sole towards the viewer. His left arm is bent upwards and with his left hand he appears to be caressing the lower part of the Virgin's face. In his right hand he holds a closed scroll upright on his thigh. He wears a deep blue chiton, open at the neck, tinged with a hint of green and adorned with small flowers and other shapes, formed by three dots - often disposed in triangles or around small circles. The himation, which covers only his legs, falls back behind the shoulders, its pointed end floating out. The garment is brick-coloured, with dense gold striations. The wide, pleated red sash around the upper part of his body is also gold-

Bibliography: Konomos 1964, p.137, ill. on p. 137. Baltoyianni 1991/1992, p.222. Vokotopoulos 1994, pp.347-352, pl.203.

1. Babic, Chatzidakis 1983, p.314, pl. on p.360. *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1986, no.100, pp.99-101, ill.100 (Chatzidakis). *Affreschi e icone* 1986, no.53, pp.94-95, pl.53 (Chatzidakis). *From Byzantium to El Greco* 1987, no.33, p.168, pl.33 (Chatzidakis). *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.43, p.203, pl.43 (Chatzidakis).

2. Borboudakis 1975, no.30, pl.30.

3. Chatzidakis 1977, no.10, pl.12.

4. Cattapan 1973, p.277, pl.H.

streaked. The entire figure of the Infant is childlike, with rounded features, plump hands and full shoulders.

Above, on the left and right, two small half-length angels are depicted in the attitude of adoration, their hands covered by their himation.

Stylistically, the icon of the Loverdos Collection that we are examining follows the principles and methods of 15th-century² Cretan icon painting. The composition is compact and balanced, and displays the grave Cretan ethos, already familiar since the first half of the 15th century. For the most part, the representation, although faithful to the iconographic type, which it reproduces from an old Palaeologan model, shows its adaptation to the climate of Cretan art by the incorporation of a detail that is important in determining its particular character. As has already been mentioned, in the icon of the Benaki Museum (pl.39) as well as in the Macedonian representations of the type, the hand of the Child that holds the scroll hangs free, and the scroll itself points downwards.

In our icon, on the contrary, the Child's right hand is caught under his mother's. This detail, which contributes to the closed form of the composition, calls attention to the faces of the two figures, thus making the representation less narrative and bringing it into accord with the principles of Cretan painting. We believe that this does not suggest the existence of a different prototype for the icon, but that the variation constitutes an initiative of a Cretan workshop of the early 15th century, elements of the painting of which, as we shall see, survive also in a later icon of ours. The modelling, especially that of the flesh,³ also refers us to Cretan 15th-centu-

ry painting. The underpaint of the flesh becomes transparent, as the artist uses the raw greenish sien-na thinned (perhaps mixed with black), allowing the ochre-coloured preparation to show through. The lights — in a rosy ochre colour, without any outlines — are softly effaced at the edges, thus gradually blending into the shaded parts. The edges of the lighted volumes are also softly modelled, without harsh defining lines, thus imparting to the light an other-worldly quality. This last element, which goes hand-in-hand with the manner of rendering the facial features only through the use of light, constitutes a well-known practice of the Cretan painters of the second half of the 15th century, applied mainly in the so-called Italo-Cretan paintings,⁴ and showing the clear influence of late Gothic art. Similarly, with no drawn delineation and only through the use of light, are rendered also the long unarticulated fingers of the Virgin's right hand, which are identical to the hands of the Virgin in important Italo-Cretan icons of the second half of the 15th century, such as the Virgin and Child of the Benaki Museum Γ107 (pl.175).⁵ Also indicative of a late Gothic influence is the overly emphasised grief in the countenance of the Virgin, who, however, retains the grave and austere expression characteristic of Cretan art.

In spite of these elements, which appear to be determinative in dating the work to the second half of the 15th century, we observe in our icon other features connecting it with the painting of the first half of the century, and particularly with that of Angelos.⁶ Among the most interesting features pointing to such a connection we might cite the manner in which the Child has been rendered morphologically, and which is that used especially by Angelos in his icons of the Virgin Kardiotissa.⁷ In particular, in the Kardiotissa of the Byzantine Museum (pl.54),⁸ the Child is portrayed with the same rounded features, the same plump hands, the articulated fingers, the upturned chin and the bright and vivid expression of the Child of our icon, which here becomes even more marked.

Similarities between the two paintings are also to be found in the portrayal of the Virgin. The two figures are identical on many points - we note the same inclination and position of the heads, the same soft disposition and fluidity in the folds of the head covering (edged with the sinuous line of the gold band embellished with the same decorative pattern), the same dark eyes (with only very little of their whites showing), the same shapes in the luminous surfaces of the two faces, the same expression and, above all, the same physiognomic traits. Other common features of both icons are the softly draped purple maphorion and the discreet, fine gold lines

on the edges of its sleeves.

However, this similarity with the Kardiotissa by Angelos in the Byzantine Museum, which is so important to the study of our icon, is not sufficient to enable us to attribute the work to the same painter, since there are also factors which suggest a dating to a later period. Nonetheless, this comparison is revealing and permits us to ascribe the prototype of the representation to this important painter of the first half of the 15th century, who may also have been the one to have introduced the Cretan type originally. The possibility of such an hypothesis being valid is supported by evidence provided by the comparison of all the icons of the group.

Compared to the other icons of the series, it has been found that the icon of the Loverdos Collection which we are examining is connected iconographically with icon Α501 (pl.41), which is very close to the atmosphere and to the technique of Angelos in the Kardiotissa, icon of Chania, and to the two icons, nos.67 and 69, of the Likhachev Collection. It differs on certain iconographic and stylistic points from the Paris icon, from that of the Benaki Museum bearing the contested signature of Emmanuel Lambardos (pl.45), and from the Virgin of Zakynthos (pl.43). All three of these works show an iconographic deviation from the type, in that the Virgin's right hand is placed lower down on the Child's shoulder and is covered by her maphorion up to the base of her fingers. This difference in the position of the hand also necessitates a change in the disposition of the folds of the Virgin's maphorion at that point. Beyond this iconographic deviation, there are important differences, in the stylistic features as well, which do not coincide with those of our icon. There, the Virgin's large eyes are filled by the large black irises, and their expression loses some of the vividness which characterises our icon. Also more conventionalised, there, are the other features of the two figures, and the more lustrous lights. All of these elements, however, are related to the painting of Andreas Ritzos,⁹ to whom, in fact, the Paris icon has been attributed. It is obvious, therefore, that these three icons derive from a prototype by Andreas Ritzos, while the rest, among which must also be counted the icon of the Loverdos Collection, bear the mark of the hand of Angelos.

This would suggest that the prototype of the Cretan representation of this iconographic type was created by Angelos, an earlier artist than Andreas Ritzos, since we know that Andreas Ritzos used Angelos' cartoons.¹⁰

Moreover, this means that, if the dating of the icon of the Loverdos Collection to the second half of the 15th century is correct, Angelos' prototype - most probably a particularly fine and admired one -

continued to be reproduced at that time, in spite of the dynamic appearance of a variant, created by the equally competent painter, Andreas Ritzos.

1. The icon belongs to the small part of the D. Loverdos Collection which has not yet been handed over to the Byzantine Museum. It has been allotted number 292, under which it has been entered in the Catalogue of the Collection (see Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1946, p.46. Baltoyianni 1191/1992, p.219, ill.1). It has been included in the works of Michael Damaskinos, on the basis of the forged signature ΧΕΙΡ ΔΑΜΑΣΚΥΝΟΥ ΚΡΗ...ΑΦΟΙ which appears on the lower gold border of the painting (see Xyngopoulos 1957, p.139, pl.38.2). The signature has been proven false following laboratory research carried out by Stavros Baltoyiannis, which was confirmed by the dating of the work to the 15th century. The first approach towards the attribution of the icon to a Cretan 15th-century workshop was made in a paper I presented to the Benaki Museum in June 1983.

24. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Benaki Museum (no.2984).

Dimensions: 1.08 x 0.81 m.

16th century.

Plates 45, 46.



The icon of the Benaki Museum constitutes one of the most important examples of the Virgin Glykophilousa with the reclining Infant, as it is reproduced after the 15th century.

The Virgin here, too, holds the Child on her right and, as in all the icons of this type, deeply inclines her head towards him. As in the other icons, Christ nestles in the arms of his mother in a half-reclining position, and presses his face to hers. He turns his gaze towards the viewer and with his left hand touches his mother's chin. He wears the chiton — embellished with florets — with which we are familiar from the other works of the series, and a pleated red sash, wound around his waist. His himation has, as always, dropped low down, covering both his legs. The sole of his right foot is turned towards the viewer.

The icon reproduces all the elements of the 15th-century representation, and particularly the icono-

2. Chatzidakis 1974a. Baltoyianni 1985, p.12.

3. Baltoyianni op.cit., p.13.

4. op.cit.

5. Xyngopoulos 1939, no.78, pl.78.

6. Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp.290-298. Chatzidakis 1987, pp.147-154, where find also the earlier bibliography.

7. Chatzidakis 1987, p.151.

8. Xyngopoulos 1957, p.170. Chatzidakis 1983, pp.223-224, pl.88. N. Chatzidaki 1983, no.1, p.17, pl.1. *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.44 (Chatzidakis), with the earlier bibliography.

9. On Andreas Ritzos and his oeuvre see Chatzidakis 1974a, pp.175-182.

10. Cattapan 1973, p.277.

graphic scheme of the icon of the Zakynthos Museum (pl.43), and that of the same representation in the Paris icon, which has been attributed to the 15th-century Cretan artist, Andreas Ritzos. The iconographic differences presented by these three icons concern only the position of the Virgin's hand on the Child's shoulder.

The different positioning of the Virgin's hand also necessitates a change, at this point, in the disposition of the maphorion, which now covers her hand to the base of her fingers. This iconographic deviation from the standard 15th-century iconography of the Virgin in the type under examination, we have attributed to an innovation, introduced as a result of the need to differentiate in some way a representation which was reproduced in such large numbers.

The icon of the Benaki Museum was known as a work of Emmanuel Lambardos, an attribution made on the basis of the inscription on the lower part of the painting in which the name of the well-known Cretan artist of the 16th century appears. The icon, which recently underwent restoration in the workshops of the Benaki Museum, was cleared of later interventions, among which the inscription with the name of the painter, as a result of which the question of its assignment to a particular painter and period now lies open.

In spite of the well-founded doubts as to its attribution to Emmanuel Lambardos¹ after the rejection of his signature, many of the stylistic features of the work are such that the icon might be assigned,

nonetheless, if not to Lambardos himself, certainly to the 16th century, a period during which the Cretan painters were still very familiar with the old and respected models, which they at times reproduced faithfully, without however being able to avoid the use of certain elements that betray the period of their production. Among the elements of the 16th century present in the Benaki Museum icon, we can recognise the harsh lines of the drapery of the garments, and particularly the stiff, dark folds of the Virgin's maphorion, the edges of which are delineated by with fine, sharp, off-white lights, as are also the semicircular shapes on her head covering. At the same time, there appear here harsh lines delineating the still almond-shaped eyes of the Virgin, and two parallel red lines on her eyelids. These elements, which were never absent from the treatment of the eyes in 15th-century works, are emphasized here. The modelling of the flesh, executed with superb technical skill, is rendered with dark brown underpaint, and the large lights on the edges of the

volumes lose their earlier translucency and cover a large surface with a rosy tint.

On the basis of the above, we might attribute the icon of the Benaki Museum to a very good 16th-century Cretan workshop, not far removed in practices and means from the workshop of the Lambardos family.

Bibliography: Xyngopoulos 1936, pp.29-30, ill.13. Delivorrias 1980, pl.57. *Ikonen, Bilder in Gold* 1993, no.59, p.230, pl.37 (Lechner).

1. Regarding Emmanuel Lambardos, who lived and worked in Candia in Crete in the late 16th century, see Xyngopoulos 1957, pp.165-169. On his relationship with the artist of the same name who was also his nephew, see Kazanaki-Lappa 1981, pp.216-220; Vokotopoulos 1990, pp.74-81, where find also the earlier bibliography regarding the signed or attributed oeuvre of the two Cretan painters.

25. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Rumania, Orthodox Patriarchate (no.3614).

Dimensions: 0.76 x 0.54 m.

First half of the 16th century.

Plates 47, 48.



The adoption and conventionalisation by Cretan workshops of this iconographic type of the Virgin Glykophilousa with the reclining infant, as a representation of the Virgin of the Passion, is proved by the fact that representations of the same type and conveying the same meaning were reproduced in workshops

outside Crete, as well. Although the Palaeologan model prevailed in Macedonian iconography, works dating after the 15th century, produced by local workshops in the neighbouring areas of Macedonia, follow the means and principles of the Cretan treatment of the type - always taking into consideration, of course, the spirit and atmosphere of the region in which they are reproduced. Among the most representative examples of the Glykophilousa with the reclining Infant created in the surrounding areas of Macedonia following Cretan 16th-century prototypes, is the Virgin of the Collection of the Orthodox

Patriarchate of Rumania, no.3614 (pl.47).

Here, too, the Virgin is depicted as a Glykophilousa and in the variant that we are examining. She holds the Child in both her arms, and he caresses his mother's chin. As in all the Cretan icons of the group, the Christ Child wears a grey-blue chiton - without a floral decoration here - and a himation which falls about at the waist.

The detail of the Virgin's right hand over the Child's hand classes the icon among the sub-group of the type which, as has already been mentioned, reproduces an innovatory feature, which we have attributed to 15th-century Cretan workshops, and which we have seen in the two icons of the Loverdos Collection (plates 41, 44), and in the Zakynthos icon (pl.43), and which is present also in the two icons of the former Likhachev Collection. Despite the faithful reproduction of the type, the differences found when comparing the Rumanian icon on particular points with the other icons of the series, indicate a later period and a local provenance. The more frugal artistic means of the icon, the Child's simpler chiton, painted a vivid grey-blue, and from which the floral decoration is missing, his less richly draped himation lacking the rich gold striations of the Cretan icons, the bright red maphorion of the Virgin with the black, dark, harsh folds, which has moved away from the usual deep purple, and also the Slavic inscriptions, attest to a provenance from a local workshop of the surrounding region of Mace-

donia, which possesses the ability to faithfully reproduce a Cretan 15th-century icon.

This view is confirmed by other particular features, such as the manner in which the two figures have been rendered, with the deep double curve under the small, round eyes, the dark lines delineating the facial features, the low forehead of the Child and the round black curls of his hair. Among the other features indicating a local workshop of the wider Macedonian area are also the pearl-lined bands on the cuffs of the Virgin's sleeved chiton, which already in the 15th century constitute a feature of the so-called *Kastoria Workshop*.¹ Alongside the above, the successfully executed faithful reproduction of the Cretan model indicates a high level of skill and a close acquaintance with the means of Cretan art, which is encountered in the workshop known as the Serbian workshop of Krusedol,² well-known for its adherence to the Cretan prototypes, which it reproduces not only in the well-known series of icons of the Deesis, dated to 1509-1512, but also in Rumanian religious monuments. Among the particular elements characterizing the icons of the Deesis of Krusedol is the clear red used on the highlights of the flesh, or, at times, between the underpaint and the highlights,³ an element which is found also in the technique employed in the treatment of the flesh in our icon. The comparison, on certain particular

points, of the Virgin of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Rumania with the Krusedol icons has shown the former to be harsher in execution and more conventional in design than the latter, which most probably points to a Wallachian painter trained in an important workshop in Krusedol.

On the basis of the foregoing correlation, we would date the icon to a period not far removed from that of the Krusedol Deesis, and certainly before the middle of the 16th century.

However, the important contribution offered by our icon to the study of this iconographic type is the inclusion in the representation of the element of the symbols of the Passion held in the hands of the small angel depicted above and to the right. The addition here of this important and significant detail proves that, even in provincial workshops of the 16th century, this iconographic type of the Virgin with the *reclining infant* was identified with and conveyed the meaning of the Passion.

Bibliography: *Εικόνες της Ρουμανίας* 1993, no.1, pp.40-41, plates on p.40 and 41.

1. Chatzidakis 1972, p.192.
2. Mirković 1955, p.105. ill.5.
3. Djurić 1961, no.76.



Pl. 39. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.20). Athens. Benaki Museum. 14th century.

Pl. 40. Detail of pl. 39





Pl. 41. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.21). Athens. Byzantine Museum (A501-ΣA435). 15th century.



Pl. 42. Detail of pl. 41



Pl. 43. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.22). Zakynthos. Museum. Second half of the 15th century.



Pl. 44. The Virgin Glykophilousa No. 23). Athens. Loverdos Collection. 15th century.



Pl. 45. Emmanouel Lambardos, The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.24). Athens. Benaki Museum. 16th century.

Pl. 46. Detail of pl. 45





Pl. 47. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no. 25). Rumania. Patriarchate. First half of the 16th century.



Pl. 48. Detail of pl. 47



The Virgin "Kardiotissa" - "Virgin of the Passion". Observations on the origin and development of the type.

The representation of the Virgin Kardiotissa and Child, one of the most beautiful variants of the Virgin Glykophilousa, has often incited researchers to study it more closely from the morphological and semantic point of view.¹

The new iconographic device which characterizes the type and which identifies the variation, is mainly that of the peculiar position and movement of the Child. The Virgin is portrayed in half length, wearing her dark purple maphorion, which covers her with its rich, wide folds. The Child is completely turned towards the Virgin, with his back to the viewer; he appears almost suspended in space, as he is only just supported by his mother's arm - usually the right one. With her left hand, she touches his shoulder. His head is thrown back, and it is now his neck and chin which press against her cheek. He wears a short-sleeved, usually grey-blue chiton. A wide red pleated sash runs down from his shoulders and tightly encircles his waist. His shiny gold-threaded himation has fallen low, leaving his right leg uncovered. Both his crossed legs hang towards one side, and from his upturned left sole dangles his loosened sandal.

This variant of the Virgin Glykophilousa is used in a series of icons — mainly Cretan ones — of the 15th century, the most important one (at least to date) being the Kardiotissa T1582 of the Byzantine Museum (pl.54),² signed by the well-known Cretan painter, Angelos.³ Another of the important examples is an icon, also in the Byzantine Museum (T2322, pl.52), which is especially interesting by reason of its early date and its particular stylistic features.⁴ Also dating to the 15th century is an icon on the same theme in the church of the Dormition of the Virgin in the village of Castro, on the island of Siphnos⁵ (pl.53), as well as the Kardiotissa of the Zakynthos Museum.⁶ Among the later examples of the type, still in the climate of the 15th century, is the Kardiotissa on the iconostasis of the church of St. John in the Chora of Naxos⁷ (pl.50), and the Glykophilousa from Corfu.⁸ A fine icon, despite certain later interventions which have damaged its painting, is that of the Loverdos Collection⁹ (pl.56), now in the Byzantine Museum. Of the same type are also the Glykophilousa in the Malcove Collection of the University of Toronto,¹⁰ and the icon on the same theme which was presented at the Antwerp Exhibition in 1988.¹¹

The representation was also painted in the 17th century, as we can see in icon T367 of the Byzantine Museum (pl.57), in Α150-ΣΑ149 of the Loverdos Collection,¹² and in the icon of a private collection, which came from Venice and which was signed in 1661 by the Cretan artist of the period, Emmanuel Tzanes.¹⁴

The surname of "Kardiotissa" (Η ΚΑΡΔΙΟΤΙΣΣΑ) is borne by four works of this series: the icon by Angelos in the Byzantine Museum, that of Siphnos, that of Naxos, and that of the Virgin by Emmanuel Tzanes, known as "The Lady Kardiotissa".

In the icon by Tzanes, as we know, the Kardiotissa is depicted holding the Child on her left.¹⁵ On the right, on the gold ground and approximately at the level of the Child's waist, has been painted a heraldic shield which has been identified as belonging to the Menganos family, and a votive inscription with the name of the donor, Ioannes Menganos. The icon bears the signature of Emmanuel Tzanes and the date 1661. The work was painted in Venice, which is proven not only by the fact that, at this time, the painter was already the parish priest of the church of Saint George of the Greeks¹⁶ in that city and that the Menganoi had settled in Venice¹⁷ after they had been forced to leave Candia when the city fell to the Turks, but also by elements presented by the icon itself.

To the Menganos Kardiotissa were now added - above and on the left - two angels, coming towards the Virgin with their hands covered by their himation. This iconographic feature was never present in the iconography of the Kardiotissa and constitutes a significant detail in terms of the origin of the icon. We know that a group of three small children's figures, without haloes, appears, in the same position, in the "Krypti" Hodegetria of Saint George in Venice,¹⁸ a feature, as has been observed, that is unique and that had certainly constituted an integral element of this very important Palaeologan work since its creation.

It is obvious that the familiarity of the painter, and most probably also of the donor of the icon, with the form and meaning of this representation, was responsible for the transfer of this iconographic detail to the new Kardiotissa, with different means but, we believe, with the same significance.

It is worth noting that the old representation of the Kardiotissa is repeated here, in other respects,

competently and with absolute fidelity — even to the erroneous spelling KAPΔIOTHCA, as it appears in the older icon of the series signed by Angelos. We must also point out that the new epithet of the Virgin, that of "The Lady Kardiotissa", which was now attached to the Venice icon, was not coined by Tzanes. Much earlier on, the representation had assumed, in the consciousness of the Cretans, the surname of "The Lady". In the inventory of the moveable property of the Cretan monastery of Varsamonero, drawn up in 1644, we read of *"The other (icon) of the lady Kardiotissa"*, which is *"in the cell, in the old quarters of the abbot, down below"*⁴⁹ We learn thus, from this inventory, that the epithet of the Virgin was "Lady Kardiotissa", and, moreover, that in the Varsamonero Monastery there was an old icon of the Kardiotissa which was kept — perhaps for reasons of security — in the old quarters of the abbot *"down below"*.

As has already been mentioned, an order for this icon was placed with Tzanes by a family of noble Venetians of Crete, who, what is more, were settled in Venice, where they would have been able to make their choice from among well-known Italian painters and splendid examples of Italian representations. Nonetheless, they chose the Kardiotissa — with which they appear to have been very well acquainted — and a Cretan artist of their time who, as has been proved, was also very familiar with the type. This would signify, at the least, that there existed an old and particularly respected icon, which continued to be venerated right up to Tzanes' time by Latin nobles of Crete as well.

Iconographically, as far as we know, the representation cannot be identified with a Palaeologan model, in spite of the iconographic relationship it has been claimed to have with the Virgin Pelagontissa.²⁰ Had there been a prototype presenting the same pictorial scheme, it would have closely resembled the standing Virgin Glykophilousa in the fresco next to the semi-cylindrical area of the apse of the sanctuary, in the Parekklesion of the Monastery of the Chora²¹ (Kariye Camii) in Constantinople (ill.9), with which Angelos' Kardiotissa in the Byzantine Museum has a close affinity. Although presenting important iconographic differences, the 15th-century Kardiotissa appears at first sight to reproduce, with certain deviations, the type of the Virgin of the Monastery of the Chora.

In the same fresco, the Virgin, also holding the Christ Child on her right, very close to her, deeply inclines her head towards him. The Child presses his face against his mother's, and has his back turned three quarters to the viewer. The differences which emerge from the comparison of the two representations relate mainly to the position of the

Christ Child's hands, as in the fresco of the Chora Monastery he raises only his right hand to grasp the edge of his mother's head covering, while his left holds a closed scroll. There is a difference, also, in the Virgin's left hand, which supports the Child's leg. There, too, however, the Child's leg is bare.

The Virgin of the Chora Monastery was painted near the apse of the Sanctuary and was, as has been observed, the parekklesion's²² most revered representation. From the position it occupied and from the intense expression of grief in the countenance of the two figures, it appears to have been connected semantically with the Passion of Christ and with the funerary iconography of its location. In spite of the differences it presents with the Kardiotissa, we believe that the Virgin of the Kariye Camii is the source of the new type, enriched, now, with new elements, the origin of which must be sought elsewhere.

The Virgin of the Kariye Camii is also the source from which originated another variant of the Glykophilousa presenting a close affinity with the iconography of the Kardiotissa, as is proven by a second series of icons that have also been attributed to Cretan 15th-century workshops and which bear elements borrowed as much from the representation of the Kariye Camii as from Angelos' Kardiotissa. Among the best-known examples of this series we should mention: Our Lady of the Snows, in the Catholic church of the same name in the Chora of Naxos,²³ which has been considered a Kardiotissa (pl.60), the icon in the 1980 auction at Sotheby's in London (Cat.no.78), which was presented at the Charleroi Exhibition in 1982,²⁴ three icons from the former Likhachev Collection, now in the Hermitage Museum²⁵ (ills.8,10,11), the Virgin of the former Nikolenko Collection,²⁶ and one other icon which was auctioned in June 1981 at Sotheby's in London (Cat.no.61).

In spite of the iconographic similarities with our representation which all the above icons evidence, they nonetheless differ considerably from it and appear to depend more on the Virgin of the Kariye Camii. In these, the most important element of the type — the back-tilted head of the Child — is absent, and they never show the Child's two hands uplifted as in a last prayer.

The position and attitude of Christ in the Glykophilousa Kardiotissa — hands raised, head flung back, his back towards the viewer, his bare leg, upturned sole and loose sandal — are not accidental and are not connected, we believe, with any happy, carefree moments of the Child's life,²⁷ which, at any rate, the profoundly sorrowful expression on the faces of the two figures certainly does not suggest. On the contrary, the iconography in which the

Christ Child is depicted in a similar pose is to be found in representations, the meaning of which is linked to the foreshadowing of the future Passion of the newborn Babe, his agony, and his mother's sorrow for him. The dogmatic element of the future Passion of the newborn Child is clearly indicated, in iconography also, since the early post-iconoclastic years, and is already charged with emotive connotations, which stem from homilies and hymns of the period before the iconomachy, or from its contemporary literature. In particular, the *Kontakion* of Romanus the Melodist "*Εἰς τὴν Γέννησιν*,"²⁸ constitutes a characteristic example of the influence exerted by such religious and literary works. In the *Kontakion*, his future Passion and his mother's lament are described by Christ himself. There is nothing to preclude the supposition that the appearance of the Cross within a circle shown above the scene of the Nativity of Christ at Castelseprio²⁹ is an allusion to the future sacrificial death of the newborn Babe in the manger, which is later expressed in a clearer and more eloquent manner.³⁰

We believe that the same meaning is now expressed in the *Kardiotissa*, with elements borrowed from corresponding representations which have also been linked with the Child's future sacrifice. From the cycle of Christ's childhood years, among the representations which have also been interpreted as indicative of the Child's fear of his future Passion, is the Flight into Egypt, an episode which in the West has been included, since the 14th century, among the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin *del Cuore*.³¹

In Byzantine iconography, the representation of the Flight into Egypt is a frequent theme. The Virgin is pictured, usually, riding on the donkey's back and holding the Child on her knees, both figures usually being portrayed frontally.³² In examples of the middle Byzantine period which, as has been said, follow a Constantinopolitan prototype — in the manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris Par. Gr. 74,³³ for instance, or in the mosaic of Monreale³⁴ — the Child is borne by Joseph on his shoulders. Concomitantly, however, he is depicted in profile and with his legs crossed³⁵ and bare, while the Virgin is portrayed as a *Galaktotrophousa* — as in the 12th-century Byzantine icon in the Sinai³⁶ monastery (ill. 3b) — in accord with iconographic schemes which have also been connected semantically with the Passion.³⁷ But the same iconographic representation of the Child with his arms uplifted — as though hanging from his mother's neck — had already been used at Kilislar in Cappadocia.³⁸ This revealing position of the Child in the fresco of the Flight into Egypt at Kilislar remains rare, of course, among the representations of this theme, which are not very frequent, at this time, anyway.

In Western art, the "hanging Child" in his mother's arms, with his back turned to the viewer, appears with the scene of the Flight into Egypt in a marble relief from Venice in the Berlin Museum³⁹ dated to the 13th century. The marble relief, from which a piece is missing on the right, preserves the three main figures of the episode, as is described in St. Matthew's Gospel (2:13). The Virgin and Child, riding on the donkey's back, strongly recalling the Entrance into Jerusalem, are shown coming from the right. Their guide on the journey to Egypt is Joseph, depicted in a standing position in front and with his face slightly turned backwards. The Virgin holds in both arms the naked Child, who, as in the representation of the *Kardiotissa*, has his back turned to the viewer and rests his chest, head and both arms on the Virgin's breast, tightly grasping the edge of her veil with his right hand. The childish head here is seen from the back, while his face is turned towards his mother's breast. The relief has been connected iconographically and stylistically with the representation of the same episode on the well-known stone relief from the Capella Zeno in St. Mark's, in Venice, where the Flight into Egypt is depicted above the scene of the Nativity⁴⁰ (ill. 4b). The Virgin is once again pictured as a *Brephokratousa*, on the donkey which carries her and the Child to Egypt, in compliance with the angel's command to Joseph. The Child is now in a more inclined position in his mother's arms and is clad only in his chiton, which, as in the *Kardiotissa*, leaves his bent right leg uncovered. He turns towards the Virgin and appears to be holding tightly, with his left hand only, to her closed maphorion.

Finally, the Flight into Egypt appears in the same iconographic form in the mosaic in the Baptistry of St. Mark in Venice⁴¹ (ill. 41), in a representation that now displays more clearly the features it has in common with the *Kardiotissa* by Angelos. The entire scene is now rendered with the Virgin again seated on the white donkey, which is now shown moving towards the right. The group is led by Joseph's young son, Jacob, who has already passed through the gates of a large city, with Joseph following behind. The Virgin holds the Child in both arms and, without as yet assuming entirely the iconographic features of a *Glykophilousa*, deeply inclines her head towards him. While he, seated in her lap, looks up at her, his back again turned towards the viewer. Both his arms are raised and he holds on to both edges of his mother's maphorion. His face can now be seen, as he slightly turns his head to the left. He is clad on the upper part of his body only in his short-sleeved chiton, as his himation has fallen about his waist, in the same way as in the representation of the *Kardiotissa*.

The Flight into Egypt, according to the brief account in St. Matthew's Gospel and the detailed references in the Arabic apocryphal gospel, is connected with Herod's decision to slay all the male infants, after the departure of the Magi, who returned home along a different route, without informing him of the Child's whereabouts, as they had promised to do.

On the other hand, the warning to Joseph "in a dream" to take the Child and his mother and flee to Egypt in the middle of the night, is interpreted by the texts of the Fathers of the Church once again as an allusion to the future Passion of the Child, which is foreshadowed by the Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents. (*"Much of what happened then did foreshadow that which was to befall in the future thus (did he sit) on an ass's colt..."*, according to the teachings of St. Chrysostom.⁴²) In the episode of the Flight into Egypt is also rendered the entire meaning of the Incarnation and the soteriological sense of the Passion of Christ, according to Theophanes Karamenus: *"Thus, the Economy of the Incarnation, begun in humility and magnanimity, did end also in magnanimity. For, as here, too, were plottings and seekings and flight, with defence to be found in no place, so, at the end, were staves and torches and swords and scourgings and mocking and, at last, the Cross"*.⁴³ The same reference regarding the prefiguration of the Passion of Christ is made in the texts of the Fathers of the Church with reference to the Massacre of the Innocents in which, according to St. Gregory the Theologian: *"One thing thou shouldst abhor of the events which did surround the birth of Christ, the massacre of the infants by Herod, and yet, more shouldst thou feel shame for the fore-sacrifice of the new sacrifice of Christ, when the time was come"*.⁴⁴

The relationship between these two events in time, meaning and consequence, is expressed pictorially in Byzantine and Western iconography, where they are often incorporated in the scene of the Nativity, or, whenever they are depicted individually, are always to be found in close proximity to such a scene. Moreover it is not rare to find in these representations certain semeiological elements suggestive of this relationship.

One of the elements, indicative of a relationship between the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents and the Kardiotissa, is once again the position of the Child, which is now also to be seen in representations of the Massacre of the Innocents.

In the iconography of the Massacre of the Innocents, among the individual episodes of the Byzantine representation, can be recognised a figure of a woman holding a child, whose head is tilted backwards, his back turned to the viewer, while his arms are often uplifted. Among the oldest examples of

this iconographic application, which, as we have seen, is also to be found in representations of the Flight into Egypt and which characterises the Kardiotissa, is the 11th-century miniature in the Tetraevangel Laur. VI.23, f. 7r.⁴⁵ In the West, the same figure is often depicted both in paintings and in stone reliefs.

The sturdy child, with his hands lifted up onto his mother's shoulders, his head and body turned towards her and his bare right leg bent, appears in the relief representation on the exterior tympanum (above the doorway of the northern transept) in the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris.⁴⁶ There the Massacre of the Innocents comes before the Flight into Egypt, which is shown immediately following. It is worth mentioning that the last figure in the Massacre of the Innocents, which is the mother and child in an attitude expressing agony and fear, is depicted exactly alongside the Virgin of the Flight into Egypt (there, too, on a donkey) and without any separating element intervening between them or any other figure. The two mothers are now very close but back to back, as the Virgin moves away towards the right. The woman of the Massacre of the Innocents is turned to the left and towards the fully armed soldier, who tries to bend back the infant's neck to make his terrible task easier.

The same episode, now strongly emphasized, continues to be pictured throughout the 14th and 15th centuries in the West, - especially in Tuscan art - in several variations, and always in the foreground and to the right of the central vertical axis of the composition.⁴⁷

In Palaeologan painting the representation of the Massacre of the Innocents is developed in a complex pictorial scheme and thus it is applied also in the Brontochion at Mystras.⁴⁸ It is now painted, here, together with a host of other episodes deployed, circularly, on a dome of its chapel. In this masterly composition, which apparently illustrates a particular descriptive text - perhaps the Homily of St. Gregory of Nyssa⁴⁹ - the mother and child, in the closest possible iconographic relationship with the Christ of the Kardiotissa, appear in front of the open doorway. The child is almost suspended in his mother's arms, his arms are open and he is turned towards her. As the executioner prepares for the killing, he pulls the child's head back by the hair. This last detail, which repeats in a more realistic way the same episode of the 11th-century miniature of manuscript Laur. VI.23, we now believe interprets the strange position of the Child's head in the representation of the Kardiotissa.

The scene is also present in the mosaic cycle of the Kariye Camii,⁵⁰ and is depicted there in the exonarthex, where it assumes a completely symbolic

and funerary character. The familiar female figure is alone on the southern side of the western tympanum, with the child deeply concealed in her maphorion. Of the iconography of the scene only the backward inclination of the child's head has been retained.

From the foregoing, we conclude that this position of the child, which is applied in the Flight into Egypt and in the Massacre of the Innocents, was a familiar element in the semeiology of the future sacrifice of the infant Christ. Besides, the same pose is also used to convey a similar meaning in the portrayal of the young Isaac, in the representation of the Sacrifice of Abraham.⁵¹

But the most revealing clue as regards this iconographic relationship is offered in the apocryphal text of the *Martyrdom of St. Matthew*,⁵² in which Christ appears to the apostle in the form of the infants singing praises in paradise. We can also see there the identification of the Child of the Kardiotissa with the infants of Herod's Massacre of the Innocents. A similar content must be sought in the iconography of the Palaeologan representation of the full-length Virgin in the mural of the Parekklesion of the Chora Monastery (ill.9), in which, as we have said, many of the iconographic elements of the Kardiotissa are already present. In the new variant of the Glykophilousa bearing the epithet of "Kardiotissa", the creator of the type appears to have used the same theme of the Virgin of the Chora Monastery, which he alters slightly, giving it a more realistic form, with a more explicit reference to the relationship with the future Passion of the Child and evoking the sacrifice of the infants in the Massacre of the Innocents.

The artist appears to have been closely familiar with the Virgin of the Chora Monastery, as is proven by the representation of Angelos' Kardiotissa, in which the same expression of the Palaeologan representation (ill.9) is reproduced, together with the same physiognomic features and exactly the same ethos. The latter elements lead to further hypothetical assumptions regarding the origin of the type of the Kardiotissa, which seems to have been created by Angelos himself.

The artistic principles of the representation, which are defined as Palaeologan on the basis of its close relationship with the Virgin of the Kariye Camii and with the Massacre of the Innocents of the Brontochion, are combined with new iconographic elements, which have been located in at least two relief representations in the church of St. Mark in Venice, as well as in the mosaic of the Flight into Egypt in the Baptistery of the same church.

This very familiar combination, in which the Palaeologan elements predominate, and which appears in the early works of 15th century Cretan

painting, places the creation of the type of the Kardiotissa in the first half of the 15th century - which also happens to be the period to which the Kardiotissa by Angelos in the Byzantine Museum also belongs.

The use of particular elements borrowed from a particular church in Venice might perhaps have been considered surprising, had not the latest information gleaned from Venetian records revealed that a certain painter, living in Angelos' time, and working in Candia, Crete, up to at least 1422, had signed a document in Venice as "*magister artis musaice in ecclesia Sancti Marci*".⁵³

Nikolaos Philanthropinos, the signatory of the document from which it appears that he was working at this time on the mosaics of St. Mark's in Venice, and whose status as a well-known artist is confirmed by other archival evidence⁵⁴ as well, was receiving orders from Venetian nobles in Crete to paint not only large altarpieces but also the curtains of their mansions. This means that he was already an established artist before his attested stay in Venice and his participation in the work on the mosaic decoration of St. Mark's; in fact, nothing precludes the supposition that both he himself and other contemporary artists had already worked on these mosaics in the past. This also means that the new elements which the painter of the Kardiotissa added, to the Palaeologan representation familiar to him from the Parekklesion of the Chora monastery, in order to create this iconographic type, and which have been located in representations which come from, or are related to, St. Mark's in Venice, might actually have originated directly from this important monument, on which, as we now know, Cretan artists of the first half of the 15th century — the period in which the Kardiotissa was painted — also worked.

Besides, a similar iconographic scheme, very close morphologically to the Glykophilousa Kardiotissa, appears to have been experimented with also in the West, most probably in the workshops of the Crusaders. It survives in an icon from Mt. Sinai exhibiting features clearly borrowed from Venetian painting (ill.5). We believe the Sinai icon, despite the close iconographic relationship it presents with the Cretan representation, to be only an iconographic parallel of the latter, which was later developed to form a related type well-known from a large series of 15th-century Cretan icons (see interpretative note on the parallel type of the Kardiotissa).

The Glykophilousa of Mt. Sinai⁵⁵ holds the Child on her left, with his legs extended and covered by his himation resting on her right arm, and her left hand supporting his waist. The Christ Child here, too, turns his back towards the viewer, but brings

his face close to hers in accord with the established form of the Glykophilousa. His two arms are now lifted up high, but his left hand touches his mother's face, as in a variant of the Byzantine Virgin and Child in which the Child's hand is under her chin (see icon T137 of the Virgin in the Byzantine Museum, which has been considered to be the source from which derives the Cretan type of the Virgin with the *reclining Child*, also examined here). He is clad in a golden-green chiton and an himation which has fallen about his waist; however, the usual pleated sash and the bands on the shoulders are absent.

Stylistically the representation is connected with certain 13th-century icons of the Mt. Sinai monastery, which have been characterised as crusader⁵⁶ icons. At the same time it contains elements indicating its provenance from a later, most probably early-14th-century, workshop. The icon presents particular affinities with the diptych of St. Procopius from Mt. Sinai,⁵⁷ in which can be observed identical physiognomic traits, such as the Virgin's long nose, forked at the base and curving at the end and becoming narrower at the level of the eyes; her large almond-shaped eyes with the irises rendered in three colours; and her delicately-drawn mouth with the double-tipped outline of the upper lip. All these have their parallels in the Virgin of the Sinai diptych. Of the corresponding elements in the Child we may note there the equally large eyes, which now have a marked slant, and the tuft of his hair which falls in the same way as in the Sinai icon. Among the remaining features of the icon which present a kinship with the diptych of St. Procopius (dated to the last quarter of the 13th century), we note the gem-studded coloured outlines of the haloes of the two figures, which are particularly rich in the Sinai diptych and manifestly simpler in our icon.

As to the differences which emerge from the comparison of the two works, these relate mainly to the exceedingly complex rendering of all the elements in the Sinai diptych. There, the shapes of the eyes are complex in colour and form, in outlines and lights, while they are considerably simplified in our icon; the intricate spiralling brush-strokes of the left ear in the Sinai diptych are here limited to a simple outline, with a small spherical end at the tip of the earlobe - a pictorial device that survives in 15th-century icons. The most important difference, however, between our icon and the Sinai diptych is to be seen in the different expressions on the faces; the quick and lively glance in the Sinai icon now becomes heavy with a deeper grief, which is indicative of the later date of the work - clearly later than the end of the 13th century, the period of the Sinai diptych.

In summing up, we would tend to include the

Sinai icon in an iconographic scheme which follows a parallel course to that of the Kardiotissa, as is proven by the combination of elements which, for the most part, are applied in the group of icons, the most ancient of which is the Virgin of the Snows in Naxos. We would date it later than that of the Sinai diptych, and certainly later than the stone relief in Berlin (ill.6) and the mosaic of the Flight into Egypt of the Baptistery of St. Mark's in Venice (ill.4a), in which the first elements of the Kardiotissa and of its parallel forms appear.

Lastly, of the surviving works on the theme of the Kardiotissa, the icon by Angelos in the Byzantine Museum and the Glykophilousa T2322 of the same Museum (pl.52) constitute, as their stylistic elements show, the oldest examples of the type. We consider Angelos' icon to be a mature work of the artist and certainly later than his Palaeologan icon of the Prophet Elijah in the church of the same name in the Chora of Naxos (ill.14).⁵⁸ Unfortunately, we do not know the date of this very important icon. It is certain, nonetheless, that it was executed at a time when the artist was not producing a large number of works, because it constitutes an original work and one that is not easily repeatable. On the contrary, the Kardiotissa of the Byzantine Museum appears to be a theme with which the artist is very familiar and conversant, and which he renders - always speaking in relation to the Prophet Elijah in Naxos - with a certain conventionality, which perhaps is a result of its frequent reproduction.

If there are no remaining doubts as to the identification of the artist with Angelos Akotantos, then we shall consider that, in 1436, a period in which the latter visits Constantinople - as he mentions in the will which he prepares in view of his journey⁵⁹ - he is already a mature painter.

If we date the Kardiotissa taking 1436 as the *terminus ante quem*, we shall not be very far from the period in which was painted the Glykophilousa T2322 of the Byzantine Museum (pl.52) which, on the basis of its stylistic features, has been dated to the beginning of the 15th century.

Icon T2322 of the Glykophilousa - of the same type as the icon by Angelos - bears no surviving inscription with the surname "Kardiotissa", but a later inscription with the surname "Η ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΗΧ" (i.e. ΕΛΠΙΣ) ("The Hope of All"). The stylistic features of the icon, which date it to the beginning of the 15th century, are not related to those of the Kardiotissa by Angelos. On the contrary, the icon presents elements of Western painting, which, moreover, are feebly executed. It also presents weaknesses in the drawing, particularly in the Virgin's inexpressive hands and in the lack of assurance in the rendering of the eyes.

The work is certainly not more important than the Kardiotissa by Angelos, and surely not the prototype. Moreover, its particular elements are not repeated in any of the surviving works on the theme of the Kardiotissa. The representation by Angelos, on the other hand, is repeated faithfully in all the works on the same theme, which have even retained the incorrect spelling of his own inscription, which reappears in the time of Emmanuel Tzanes, who also faithfully copies the same representation.

In conclusion, we would say that the Glykophilousa T2322 of the Byzantine Museum consti-

tutes one more copy of a representation most probably created by Angelos, but which is by no means necessarily to be identified with the icon of the Byzantine Museum signed by Angelos, since it is quite possible that it also may constitute a copy of an older representation - unknown to us to date - created by this artist. Besides, it has been observed that the Kardiotissa of the Byzantine Museum shows an assurance in its execution, indicative of a work which is not being attempted for the first time.

1. Chatzidakis 1979a, pp.223-224. N. Chatzidaki 1983, no.1, p.17, pl.1. Hadermann-Misguich 1983, p.11, ill.6. *From Byzantium to el Greco* 1987, no.35, p.170, pl.35 (N. Chatzidaki). *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.44, pp.203-204, pl.44 (N. Chatzidaki).
2. G. Sotiriou 1955, p.32, pl.XXX. Xyngolpoulos 1957, p.170. Chatzidakis 1974, p.337, ill.18 (see also note 1).
3. Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp.290-298. N. Chatzidaki 1983, pp.17-19. Chatzidakis 1987, pp.147-154.
4. Unpublished.
5. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1981, p.384, ill.274.
6. Vokotopoulos 1900, p.97, note 3.
7. Unpublished.
8. Vokotopoulos op.cit., no.65, pp.96-97, ill.19.
9. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1946, no.285.
10. Cambell 1985, no.341, ill. on p.248.
11. *Golden Light* 1988, Cat.no.58.
12. G. Sotiriou 1931, p.93. G. And M. Sotiriou 1958, p.206. Chatzidakis 1969, p.48. Kreidl-Papadopoulos 1970, p.116, pl.100.
13. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios op.cit., no.150.
14. Maltezou 1973, pp.283-285, pl-IA'Θ' Hadermann-Misguich op.cit, p.15, ill.7. Some years earlier, in 1654, the Cretan painter Victor painted the same representation for Antonis Bouboulis, then the parish priest of the church of St. George in Venice. Father Antonis Bouboulis, in a letter to his brother-in-law Emmanuel Frangos, living in Chandax, asks him to "make a panel and give it to him (Victor) to paint the Virgin Kardiotissa..." (Kazanaki-Lappa 1981, p.190).
15. The Virgin is depicted holding the Child on her left in the icons of Siphnos, Naxos and Toronto.
16. Drandakis 1962, p.3.
17. Maltezou op.cit.
18. Drandakis 1957a, pp.238-251. Chatzidakis 1962, no.4, p.11, plates 3 and 4.
19. Mavromatis 1990, p.463, 484, doc.338. In spite of the spelling mistakes in the remaining part of the document, the epithet of the icon is spelt almost correctly. This means that at this time, at least, it was known that there were spelling mistakes in the inscription on the icon.
20. Hadermann-Misguich 1983, p.14.
21. Underwood 1966, 1, p.249; 3, plates 486-487. Der Nersessian 1975, p.319, where she mentions that the Virgin Glykophilousa is connected with the icon screen, despite the fact that she points out that the iconography of the representation is rarely used for iconostasis icons.
22. Underwood op.cit., 1, p.248, where damage and smoke stains from the burning of candles or oil lamps are observed on the Virgin's footstool and at the level of her feet.
23. Zias 1971, p.483, ill.501.
24. Th. Chatzidakis 1982, no.5. Hadermann-Misguich op.cit., p.14.
25. Likhachev 1906-1908, 1) no.66, 2) no.68, 3) no.70. Felicetti Liebenfels 1956, 1)pl.111 D.
26. *Galerie Nikolenko* 1975, no.5.
27. Lazareff 1938, pp.42-46. Hadermann-Misguich op.cit., p.11.

28. Maas, Trypanis 1963, pp.15 and 16.
29. Weitzmann 1951, pl.5.
30. See below in entry no.62 on the icon of the Nativity in the former Volpi Collection.
31. Bertaut 1957, cols.1686-1701. The article was pointed out to me by Mr. Evangelos Zournatzis, to whom I extend my warmest thanks.
32. Millet 1916, pp.155-158. Der Jerphanion 1925-1942, pl.38.4, 66.2, 76.1, 142.1, 152.
33. Lafontaine-Dosogne 1975, p.227.
34. Demus 1949, ill.18. Lafontaine-Dosogne op.cit., p.227.
35. Lazarev 1967, ill.203.
36. G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.43; 1958, no.63, p.61.
37. Baltoyianni 1991/1992, pp.219-238.
38. Der Jerphanion op.cit., 1, pl.47.2.
39. Volbach 1930, p.46, nos.63-64.
40. Demus 1960, p.174, ill.61.
41. Tozzi 1932/1933, pp.418-432. Bettini 1944, pl.CII. Horn 1990, pp.80-82.
42. PG 57, 85. "Πολλὰ γοῦν διὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γινομένων τότε προεκήρυττε τῶν ὕστερον συμβαίνειν μελλόντων· ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄνου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πώλου γέγονε...", ὅπως διδάσκει ο Χρυσόστομος.
43. PG 132, 920. "Οὕτως ἡ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως Οἰκονομία ἀπὸ ταπεινώσεως καὶ μακροθυμίας ἀρξαμένη, εἰς μακροθυμίαν κατέληξεν. Ὡς γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ ζήτησις, καὶ φυγὴ, καὶ ἄμυνα οὐδαμοῦ, οὕτως ἐν τῷ τέλει ξύλα καὶ δᾶδες, καὶ ξίφη καὶ μάστιγες, καὶ ὕβρεις, καὶ εἰρωνεῖαι καὶ, τελευταῖον, σταυρός".
44. PG 36, 392. "Ἐν μίσησον τῶν περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γένναν, τὴν Ἡρώδου παιδοκτονίαν· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταύτην αἰδέσθητι, τὴν ἡλικιωτὶν Χριστοῦ θυσίαν τοῦ καινοῦ σφαγίου προθυομένην".
45. Millet 1916, p.160, ill.113. Velmans 1971, f.7r, pl.7, ill.14.
46. Verrier 1939, pl.XVII.
47. See Giotto in the Lower Church at Assisi (Thode 1989, ill.60). Also Pietro Lorenzetti, in Berenson 1968, II, ill.81, and Andrea di Bartolo, in Berenson op.cit., II, ill.429.
48. Millet 1910, pl.93.3.
49. Λόγος εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, PG 46, 1144-1145.
50. Underwood, op.cit., 1, pp.98-101; 3, pls.190, 191.
51. See the representation of the Sacrifice of Abraham in the mosaic decoration of Monreale (Demus 1949, pl.105. Kitzinger 1960 pl.36). The same representation also in the Capella Palatina (Demus op.cit., pl.34). The prefiguration of Christ and of his Passion in the sacrifice of Isaac is particularly stressed in St. John Chrysostom (PG 54, 432), where Christ is the beloved Son of God, as Isaac is that of Abraham, and at the same time the sacrificial lamb. This same prefiguration is expressed in a poetic manner in the Homily by Ephraim the Syrian *On Abraham and Isaac*, where all the particular details of the sacrifice of Isaac find their parallel in the sacrificial death of Christ on the Cross.
- Abraham desired to see my day/ and he saw it and rejoiced /even that of the Passion /in the form of Isaac (verses 168-169).
- In the knife he beheld my spear, in the altar, my head, and in the wood, the Cross... (verses 100-101).
- Behold Christ the lamb of God held by his two hands to the Cross (verses 103-104). (S. J. Mercati, S. Ephraem Syri Opera, Romae 1915, I, pp.66, 67, 68, 82).
52. Bonnet 1898, p.217.
53. Constantoudaki 1982, pp.265-272.
54. Cattapan 1968, p.37. Cattapan 1972, p.205.
55. Unpublished.
56. Weitzmann 1963, pp.179-203. Weitzmann 1966, pp.49-83.
57. G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pls.188-190; 1958, no.188, pp.171-173. Weitzmann op.cit., pp.66-69, ills. 33,34. Mouriki 1990, pp.119-120, pl.65.
58. Drandakis 1964a, p.428, pls.511 a-b.
59. Manousakas 1960/1961, pp.139-151. Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp.290-298.

26. Angelos:
The Virgin Glykophilousa
H KAPΔIOTHCA ("The Kardiotissa")

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T1582)

Dimensions: 1.21 x 0.965 m.

Second half of the 15th century.

Plates 54, 55.



On a gold, meticulously elaborated ground and on a slightly dug-out panel which creates a low, raised frame (also gilded), is portrayed a variant of the Virgin Glykophilousa. Among its main iconographic characteristics we note especially the position of the Child, who appears to be hanging unsupported in his mother's arms. He is turned towards the Virgin, with his back to the viewer, his arms raised high and his head flung back. His legs, which are crossed, hang to the right. His sandal falls from the upturned sole of his left foot. His right leg is bare to above the knee. His gold-threaded himation falls about his waist. He wears an almost diaphanous, grey-white short-sleeved chiton embellished with flowerets, alternating with a decoration of three dots forming a cross. A wide gold-red sash comes down from his shoulders and is bound around his waist. The Child is large and sturdily-built, but his features are babyish.

In its other elements, the representation remains faithful to the iconographic form of the Glykophilousa, as the Virgin deeply inclines her head towards the Child, although she no longer presses her face against his chubby cheek but against the inside of his neck. She wears the usual dark purple maphorion, draped over a dark, almost black fillet. Painted in dark tones, and almost in shadow, are the two half-length, miniature angels depicted on the upper part of the icon. The Christ Child's bright himation and his red-gold sash stand out against the dark purple tones which predominate in the representation. The entire theme exudes austerity and deep sorrow. A certain number of attempts to change the atmosphere of the work by the addition of elaborate gold complements, such as the very fine gold outlines on the edges of the sleeves of the Virgin's maphorion, the wide gold band which follows the sweep of her head-covering and emerges once again below the shoulder, the gold fringe in the same place, and the particularly elaborate "stars" nonetheless lead back to a formal and hieratic atmosphere. Neither figure is surrounded by a halo. We believe that the latter element must not be con-

sidered an omission or negligence on the part of the artist who, in other respects, renders the subject with meticulous care and great skill. On the contrary, we consider that it is related to the meaning of the representation, which is connected with a specific prefiguration of the future Passion of the Child.

As we know, the icon bears the signature of the painter Angelos and constitutes one of the most important examples of early Cretan art. The painter's signature, which is quite discreet, in the simple form: XEIP AΓΓΕΛΟΥ, without a date or other indication, leaves the subject itself untouched, as it is barely visible on the narrow red frame on the bottom part of the icon. Above and on the right side of the Virgin's shoulder, in red capitals, can be read the epithet given to the Virgin of the representation: H KAPΔIOTHCA, an epithet which is repeated with the same erroneous spelling in later icons on the same theme.¹

The manifestly grave atmosphere of the entire representation and the particular and most probably significant iconographic elements it contains — which have been used elsewhere, as well, in a manner declarative of the prefiguration of Christ's Passion — connect the icon semantically with Christ's future sacrificial death, as this is foreshadowed in scenes of his childhood years (see introductory note on the iconographic type). The first interpretative approach to this highly affective subject reveals this connection.

The new elements related to the Passion that are now added to the iconography of the Virgin Glykophilousa, apart from the Child's bare leg, his upturned sole, loose sandal, and his himation falling to the waist, are his raised arms and, especially, the position of his head, which is flung back, leaving his bare neck exposed and strongly emphasised.

This particular iconography, which was used in the representations of the Flight into Egypt and in the Massacre of the Innocents (see introductory note on the type), is repeated here with the same meaning. Moreover, the same position of the Child — a familiar feature pertaining to the semeiology of the future sacrifice of the infant Christ — has also been used in the similarly prefigurative² representation of the Sacrifice of Abraham, where the young Isaac lets his head fall back, exposing his bare neck.³

Stylistically, the icon belongs among the works of Angelos' maturity, as the representation, judging from its conventionalised elements, does not appear to have been attempted for the first time. Indeed, the whole manner in which it has been rendered — its confident, unhesitant execution — speaks of the artist's past experience on the same subject, which he reproduces competently and expertly. The familiar elements, such as the Virgin's hands, used else-

where by the same painter in the same form, the manner in which her head-covering has been rendered, and which is similar to that of the Naxos Glykophilousa that we have attributed to Angelos, the Virgin's facial features which refer us to well-known Palaeologan works, such as the Virgin in the Parekklesion of the Monastery of the Chora (Kariye Camii), are repeated here in a drier and more stylised manner. But the new elements of the type, such as the movement and attitude of Christ, are also indicative of carefully elaborated iconographic formulas by the same artist, which have left him free to work in an advanced and painterly manner. The difficulties in the handling of the fallen himation have here been overcome, albeit with some lack of assurance still, observable in the not quite fully developed pointed edge of the garment, as it touches the lower frame of the icon.

The conventionalisation of the representation is also apparent in the modelling of the flesh and, especially, in the Virgin's face. The lighted parts form a single triangular shape, a feature since established in all the Virgins of the Cretan school, while the fine, calligraphic brushstrokes on the edges of the volumes seem to have lost something of their strength and effectiveness.

The comparison of these with the solid luminous lines, the daring hatched brushstrokes and the free, painterly rendering of the Naxos Glykophilousa (pl.5) — features which become even more notice-

able in the icon of the Prophet Elijah in the same church (ill.14) — distance the Kardiotissa from the older, Palaeologan-style works by Angelos, placing it in a period in which the artist was under the pressure of a great demand, with a resulting standardisation of the work produced.

Bibliography: Sotiriou 1955, p.32, pl.XXX. Xyngopoulos 1957, p.170. Chatzidakis 1979a, pp. 223-224. N. Chatzidaki 1983, no.1, p.17, pl.1. Hardermann-Misguich 1983, p.11, ill.6. *From Byzantium to El Greco* 1987, no.35, p.170, pl.35 (N. Chatzidaki). *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.44, pp.203-204, pl.44 (N. Chatzidaki).

1. The same epithet is borne by other representations of the Virgin, as in the Blachernitissa type in the apse of the church of the Virgin Kerá, Lasithi (Borboudakis 1971, p.528, pl.544a) and elsewhere (Mastoropoulos 1983, pp.129-131).

2. See note 51, in the introductory text on the Virgin Kardiotissa - Virgin of the Passion.

3. See note 51, op.cit.

27. The Virgin Glykophilousa Η ΚΑΡΔΙΟΤΗΣΑ ("The Kardiotissa")

Siphnos, Castro, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin.

Dimensions: 1.13 x 0.98 m.

15th century.

Pl.53.



The Virgin is depicted as a Glykophilousa, following the pattern of the Kardiotissa variant by Angelos in the Byzantine Museum (pl.54). She now holds the Child on her left, as does the Naxos Kardiotissa (pl.50), most probably in compliance with the demands of a special com-

mission, which required an icon for the left side of the iconostasis, and in order to avoid the two figures turning their backs to the main icon of Christ which, as we know, is placed on the iconostasis on the right side.

As regards its other elements, the icon faithfully follows the iconography of the type, with the faces of the two figures very similar to the conventional form of the Glykophilousa, showing the Child with his back to the viewer, his arms uplifted and his legs crossed. His left leg is bare and from his upturned sole hangs his loosened sandal. Above, in medallions, on the right and left, two angels are depicted in an attitude of worship.

Of the original painting of the medallions only the lower part has been preserved, while the faces of the angels have been painted over the damaged and later repaired, area. A more recent intervention on the icon is also visible on the right hand of the Virgin, where the cuffs of her sleeved chiton and a large part of the hand (up to the base of her fingers) have been replaced by later painting and on later wood, over the damaged section.

On the bottom part of the icon, on the narrow red border, can be read the donor's prayer: ΔΕΗCIC TOY ΔΟΥΛΟΥ TOY ΘΕΟΥ ΜΑ(ΚΑΡΙΟΥ) ΜΟΝ-ΑΧΟΥ TOY ΧΟΡΕΥΤΟΥ ΚΑ...

The signature of the artist had been inscribed on

the right of the painting; today, only a part survives of the word XEI(P) without the artist's name.

Stylistically the icon presents an affinity with the pictorial resources of the well-known Cretan artist of the 15th century, Angelos, which is why the work has been ascribed to him.² Of the features which are attributable to Angelos' pictorial choices, as we know them from the icon of the Kardiotissa in the Byzantine Museum (pl.54), signed by the artist himself, we note the Virgin's narrow, almond-shaped eyes, traced with a wavy outline on the lower part, her purple maphorion with simple, fine dark lines indicating the folds, the gold band along its edge, rendered with complex undulations on the part covering her head, and sliding, in a characteristic way, towards one side, her full lips, the markedly curved edges of her nose, the tinge of white in the eyes and the restrained grief expressed in her countenance. We find analogies also in the portrayal of the Child with his broad forehead, his short nose, rounded at the tip, his flattened chin and the white linear lights - in deep triangular outlines - below the eyes.

In spite of the above, certain qualitative differences apparent in details and in the entire appearance of the work, raise doubts as regards the ascription of the icon to Angelos himself. The Virgin's face - with its broad lighting, the deeper curves on the lower part of the eyes, the loose drawing of the lips, which are not pressed tight - her broader nose, and the slender but shorter neck, which is removed from the high, slender neck of the Kardiotissa of the Byzantine Museum signed by Angelos, differentiate the work as much from the point of view of quality as from that of atmosphere.

Viewed in this way, the differences in the remaining elements of the Siphnos icon are also apparent in the disproportionately large sole of the Child's foot, for instance, which is pictured broadly, in its entirety, in contrast to the icon of the Byzantine Museum, where only three quarters of the bottom surface of the foot shows, and his large left hand, with its long, thick fingers - which differs even in design from the corresponding hand of the Child in Angelos' Kardiotissa, in which, moreover, the fingers are rendered with a marked sensitivity to their variations in size, position and articulation. Also different is the right hand, which is shown longer here, and displays a certain lack of assurance in the drawing.

The differences which emerge from the detailed comparison of the Siphnos icon with Angelos' Kardiotissa, lead us to the supposition that the former constitutes a faithful repetition of the latter, and was executed by a Cretan artist of the 15th century, closely acquainted with the well-known work by Angelos on the same theme.

The supposition that the Siphnos icon may be a copy of the well-known work of this skilled Cretan artist seems all the more likely since another successful reproduction of the Kardiotissa, dating to at least a century later, is to be found on the iconostasis of the church of St. John of the Market in the Chora of Naxos (pl.50). The fact that we know moreover, that the Virgin Kardiotissa was venerated, not only in Crete, but also particularly in the islands of the Cyclades³ - where the type occurs in a number of variations, such as that of the Blachernitissa and of the enthroned Virgin - signifies, we believe, that the prototype which was copied with such meticulous care must have been an important icon and must have been located in the area of the Cyclades. We would tend to believe that it was to be found on Naxos, where, as we know, besides the faithful later copy of the Kardiotissa in the church of St. John, there are another two icons by Angelos - the Virgin Glykophilousa (pl.50) and the Prophet Elijah (ill.14), in the church of the same name in the Chora. The latter also bears the artist's signature. It must be noted here that in the Chora of Naxos and in the Roman Catholic church of Our Lady of the Snows there exists also a variant of the Kardiotissa in a well-known and particularly beloved icon of the 15th century (pl.60).

Bibliography: Acheimastou-Potamianou 1981.

1. The completion of the name of the donor was effected by M. Acheimastou-Potamianou during the first presentation of the icon after it had been cleaned and restored; see Acheimastou-Potamianou 1981, p.384, pl.274.

Of the elements of the inscription of interest perhaps is the prayer of Makarios, the monk, followed by the characterization of the donor as dancer. Even if it is only a surname, it justifiably raises questions, particularly in the case of a monk.

In spite of the above, the epithet of "χορευτής" or "χορεύτρια" (dancer) applied to a saint, beatus, monk, or nun is often referred to in patristic texts, as for instance, by Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46, 697), "we who have become dancers of the spirit", and by John Chrysostom: "dancers of piety and soldiers" (*Κατὰ αἵρετικῶν*, PG 60, 745), to cite only some of the many examples.

2. Acheimastou-Potamianou op.cit.

3. Mastoropoulos 1983, pp.129-131.

28. The Virgin "Η ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΗΧ" (ΕΛΠΙΣ)
("The Hope of All")

Athens. Byzantine Museum (T2322)

Dimensions: 506 x 0.39 m.

15th century.

Pl.52.



The Virgin, in half length and holding the Child on her right, faithfully follows the variant of the Glykophilousa Kardiotissa with the Child's arms raised, his back turned towards the viewer and his right leg bare (see introductory note on the type). It differs from the Cretan Kardiotis-

sa signed by Angelos in the Byzantine Museum, as regards its stylistic features and its particular physiognomic traits. The Virgin's face, rounded and youthful, on a long, slender neck, is characterized by small, narrow eyes, a fine nose, small, full lips, and a directness in the gaze and expression. The entire manner in which the face has been rendered endows it with a particular physiognomic character, which is not easily repeatable and whose antecedents are, so far, unknown.

The peculiarities of this interesting representation, in terms of the origin and development of the type of the Kardiotissa, also extend to its other elements. Through the opening of the Virgin's maphorion, in front, can be seen the gold band usually adorning the chiton around the border of the neck, tied with an intricate and elaborate ornamental knot.

The same decorative knot, equally complex in form, can be found in icons of the Virgin of the early 15th century, such as in the Virgin of the Passion in the monastery of Mt. Sinai¹ (pl.87) and in the icon on the same theme in the collection of the ex-queen of Greece, Frederica² (pl.90). A simpler version can be seen in the icon of the Hodegetria in the Kapsa Monastery,³ which has been dated to the early 15th century, and in the not very much later "Amolyntos" of the Toplou Monastery.⁴

Also, the loose sleeves of the Virgin's maphorion, through which emerge her hands, are folded outwards and are decorated along the edges with a fine gold band. We find this feature in Palaeologan icons of the Crucifixion, especially in icons of the Macedonian school. An example among others is that of the Crucifixion on the reverse of the double-sided icon of Christ Psychosostis in Ochrid.⁵ Derived from a Macedonian prototype and from the Pelagonitissa of Zrze,⁶ is the triangular opening of the head cover-

ing of the maphorion, at the base of the neck, on the right, which leaves her neck free — a feature which is unknown in the Cretan representation of the Kardiotissa.

Finally, the small and narrow eyes of the Virgin, unusual in the iconographic type of the Kardiotissa, and her round face, constitute features which, once again, can be found in the Macedonian area and specifically in the Glykophilousa of the church of St. Alypios in Kastoria,⁷ in whose round face the very small and narrow eyes are quite striking (ill.12a).

Moreover, the long face of the Child, with his puffed cheeks and broad forehead, refers us to icons of the Pelagonitissa,⁸ such as that of Zrze. Derived from the same iconography are also the thick gold folds of the Child's himation, fallen about his waist, which appear to originate from Palaeologan icons of the Pelagonitissa, such as that of the Sinai monastery.⁹

In spite of the close relationship with Palaeologan prototypes of the Macedonian area, other elements of the icon — such as its ethos and expression, particularly that of the Virgin, with her soft lips and fine small nose — appear to be related to western models, to which we are led also by the Virgin's exceedingly youthful face. Our icon also shows an affinity with the Cretan School, in the early icons of which can also be found the outward-turned free sleeves of the Virgin's maphorion. Among the earliest examples of the latter we might mention the icon of the Loverdos Collection A501 (pl.41), dated to the beginning of the 15th century, and the later Glykophilousa in a private collection in Rome (pl.2).

From the foregoing, it becomes apparent that the icon presents a combination of features from at least three different traditions: the Palaeologan Macedonian, the Western tradition, and the Cretan painting of the early 15th century. To this period and to a workshop which combines all three of these traditions we shall assign our icon, which must be ascribed to a western Macedonian workshop, conversant with the Palaeologan art of Macedonia, influenced also by neighbouring Venice, and familiar, through the intermediary of Dalmatia, with Cretan painting.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. M. Sotiriou 1971, pp. xθ' - μβ'.
2. *Βυζαντινή τέχνη* 1964, no. 220.
3. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, no. 147, pp. 502-503, pl. 147 (Borboudakis).
4. *Op.cit.*, no. 139, pp. 495-496, pl. 139 (Borboudakis).
5. Djurić 1961, no. 37, p. 40, pl. XXIV.

6. *Op.cit.*, pl.LII.
 7. Orlandos 1938, pp.173-175, ill.117. Pelekani-
 dis 1953, pl.178. Tsigaridas 1992, p.655.
 8. On the icons of the Pelagionitissa see Beljaev

1930, pp.386-392. Grabar 1975b, pp.25-30, ill.2.
 Hadermann-Misguich 1983, pp.9-16.

9. G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.235; 1958, no.235,
 p.205. Mouriki 1990, p.124, pl.74.

29. The Virgin Glykophilousa Kardiotissa

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T367).

Dimensions: 0.41 x 0.335 m.

17th century.

Plates 57, 58.



The Kardiotissa continues to be painted by Cretan workshops, as well as by local workshops outside Crete, during the 16th and 17th centuries, as is proved both by insignificant and by interesting icons, in which the elements indicative of the Passion of Christ are particularly emphasized. In

icon T367 of the Byzantine Museum the Child tilts his head so far back that it is no longer his lips or chin that touch his mother's face, but the upper part of his neck, perhaps declaring even more forcefully

the connection of the representation with its prefigurative and soteriological content (see introductory note on the type).

Moreover, the Virgin's countenance now expresses not only the profound grief which is a permanent characteristic of all the 15th-century icons, but also certain forebodings, which are fleetingly reflected in her intense gaze. The latter emotion is most clearly seen in the eyes of the Child, who in no way resembles a carefree infant in his mother's arms.

On the basis of its simple artistic resources, its opaque and coarse-grained colours, its soft, diffused highlights and the superficial emotionality of the two figures, the icon is ascribable to a provincial, island workshop of the middle of the 17th century.

Bibliography: Sotiriou 1931, p.93. Chatzidakis 1969, p.48. Kreidl-Papadopoulos 1970, p.116, pl.100.

30. The Virgin Glykophilousa Kardiotissa

Athens, Byzantine Museum (A285-ΣA247)

Dimensions: 0.45 x 0.36 m.

16th century.

Plate 56.



The Virgin is depicted with the Child on her right, in the iconographic type of the Kardiotissa. Above, on the left and right, two half-length angels are seen in an attitude of worship. The Virgin is clad once again in the familiar maphorion, which here is painted in a deep red lacquer, with black

lines in the shaded parts, the edges of which are highlighted with dull outlines in lighter gradations of the same red. Her fillet is bright blue, as is her

chiton, which is visible high up at the neck and at the opening of the sleeve of her maphorion.

The icon has suffered considerable damage over the years and also as a result of earlier interventions. The damage, in places, has affected even the preparation and the wood. Moreover, many of the more recent layers of overpainting were removed when the icon was cleaned in the workshop of the Byzantine Museum. In spite of this, the representation bears the marks of a good 16th-century workshop, very close to the artistic resources and techniques of a group of Cretan artists of the second half of the century, who elect to use iconographic schemes of a period older than their own, and which they now render by means of sensitive techniques and new resources.

It is in the group of icons of this period that we shall place the works of the earlier of the two Cretan painters who bear the name of Emmanuel Lambar-dos.¹

In their effort to renew the old and respected

15th-century prototypes, the Cretan artists of this circle, obviously fascinated by the artistic results of the new egg tempera technique used at that time in the West, not excepting Venice, now attempt to thin down the traditional tempera in order to achieve a greater transparency in the many superimposed layers of diluted colour, over which the restlessly placed and thickly applied lights now appear more luminous.

The questionable results of the new techniques eventually became apparent, as the works were not able to stand up to the unavoidable ravages of time, to deep cleaning and to later interventions.²

This exceptionally fine icon, executed with sensitive artistry, appears to repeat an old Cretan representation faithfully and competently, a fact which evidences, on the one hand, the recognised worth of the esteemed prototype and, on the other, the art-

ist's particular skill in reproducing expertly this emotive and at the same time profoundly theological theme.

Bibliography: Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1946, no.285.

1. Regarding the earlier of the two Cretan painters of the 16th century bearing the name of Emmanuel Lambardos, see Kazanaki 1981, p.216.

2. The icon in which this technique is used is that of the Crucifixion of the Loverdos Collection Λ532-ΣΛ460, signed by Emmanuel Lambardos, whom we have identified as the earlier of the two Cretan artists by the same name of the late 16th century. On the icon of the Crucifixion see Xyngopoulos 1957, pl.40.2. Baltoyianni 1991b, pp.65-66, pl.2.

31. The Virgin Kardiotissa (Η ΚΑΡΔΙΟ-ΤΗΧΑ)

Naxos, Chora, Church of St. John the Baptist.

Dimensions: 0.83 x 0.72 m.

Early 16th century.

Plates 49, 50, 51.



The icon of the Virgin Glykophilousa in the church of St. John, in the Chora, Naxos, repeats the type of Angelos' Kardiotissa, with the Virgin holding the Child on her left.

The Child is seated on his mother's left arm, and lifts both arms up high towards her, bringing his face very close to hers. His legs are crossed, and his left leg is bare to above the knee.

The change in the iconographic type, with the Child now seated on his mother's left arm, was most probably dictated, as was the Siphnos icon (pl.53), by the demands of a special commission requiring a Kardiotissa with the Child on the left, to be placed on the iconostasis and on the left of the sanctuary doors. In view of the fact that the traditionally established position of the corresponding icon on the right side of the iconostasis is that of Christ, it is obvious that, if the Kardiotissa were to be holding the Child on her right, she would be turning her back to the Christ Pantocrator.

In spite of the iconographic links of the representation, in its general scheme, with the Kardiotissa,

as the type is rendered in the icon of the Byzantine Museum bearing Angelos' signature (pl.54), we observe nonetheless in the Naxos icon certain iconographic innovations, and also other iconographic deviations, which distance the work both in form and in time — especially the latter — from Angelos' icon.

The most important difference in the form of the representation regards the position and the movement of the Child's head, which does not fall back as in all the representations of the Kardiotissa, but turns towards the left, with the plump childish cheek pressing tenderly against the left cheek of his mother. The scheme, familiar to us from the iconography of the Glykophilousa, is now applied to a representation which, so far as all its other elements are concerned, is a Kardiotissa.

Among the newer elements presented by the Naxos icon is the different treatment of the Virgin's maphorion, with its deep and hard, geometric folds, the unusual feature of the flat, smooth part between the upper arm and the diagonal folds over the breast, the manner in which the head covering is closed in front of the neck, the wide opening of the left, free sleeve of the maphorion as a result of the lower positioning of the Virgin's hand, and the conical shape of her neck.

Similar elements simplifying the representation are also to be seen in the portrayal of the Child. His right hand is in a vertical position, the knee of his bare leg is markedly schematised, his right thigh, outlined beneath his himation with its restless and unsure folds, disproportionately thin. In the inexpressive left hand, the fingers are of equal length

and at equal distances from each other.

Finally, the soft modelling, with the large luminous areas, the red tints imparting a rosy blush to the cheeks, the hard double white line which follows the sinuous outline of the Virgin's lips, the parallel red lines on her eyelids and the light tones of her reddish-brown maphorion, with its ochre-colour-

red lights, are indicative of a 16th-century workshop, which uses principles and methods of Cretan art which, by this time, have become conventionally stylised.

Bibliography: Unpublished.



Pl. 50. The Virgin "H KAPAIOTHCA" (no.31). Naxos, Chora. Church of St. John the Forerunner. Early 16th century.



Pl. 51. Detail of pl. 50



Pl. 52. The Virgin "Η ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΛΠΙΣ" (Elpis) (no.28). Athens, Byzantine Museum (T2322), 15th century.



Pl. 53. The Virgin "H KAPAIOTHCA" (no.27). Siphnos. Castro. Church of the Dormition of the Virgin. 15th century.



Pl. 54. Angelos. The Virgin "H KARDIOTHCA" (no.26) Athens. Byzantine Museum (T1582). Second half of the 15th century.



Pl. 55. - Detail of pl.54.



Pl. 56. The Virgin Glykophilousa Kardiotissa (no.30). Athens. Byzantine Museum (A285-ΣA247). 16th century.



Pl. 57. The Virgin Glykophilousa Kardiotissa (no.29). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T367). 17th century.

Pl. 58. Detail of pl.57





A variant of the Virgin Glykophilousa:
an iconographic parallel of the type of the Kardiotissa.
The upturned sole of the foot of Christ and his loose sandal.

This variant retains the general form of the Glykophilousa, with the faces of Mother and Child very close to one another. The main elements which differentiate it from the Glykophilousa of Our Lady of Vladimir and which connect it to a series of Cretan icons of the 15th century, are the pronounced twist of the Child's body towards his mother, with his back to the viewer, the crossed feet under the himation, over the hand of the Virgin, the turned-up sole, from which hangs - but not always - the loose sandal, and the Child's uplifted left hand which holds on to the edge of the neck-high maphorion of his mother.

The iconographic type of the representation with the infant Christ seated upright on the left side of his Mother, with his hand stretched out and his back turned to the viewer in a three-quarters position, had already been used since the post-iconoclastic period in representations of the Mother and Child in certain murals of Cappadocia, as well as in portable icons still surviving in Georgia.

The type, in its more or less complete form, is to be found at Karabas Kilisse (1060-1061).¹ The Virgin is portrayed there as a Glykophilousa, with her right hand supporting the two - not yet crossed - feet of the Child, while her left hand is placed behind his neck. The infant Christ seems to be embracing his mother with both hands, and despite the damage which the mural has sustained in this area, he appears to have already turned his upright body in such a way as to have the greatest part of his back turned towards the viewer. The differences which may be observed by comparing this representation with the Cretan one, painted four centuries later, are not very great.

Even closer to our representation is the silver-covered Byzantine icon (11th century) of the Glykophilousa of Chemochmedi,² today in the Fine Arts Museum of Tbilisi, where the type is clearly defined, and which presents elements which are determinative in its development. The Virgin, here also, has her right hand under the Child's legs and her left hand behind his upright back. The upper portion of the Child's body is turned even more towards his mother, with his back to the viewer. Here, too, his left hand is stretched towards the Virgin's shoulder, while his right arm is wound around her neck.

This iconographic type, which was established by the Cretan workshops, survives in a series of precious Cretan icons of this period, the most representative among them being the Glykophilousa of the M. Peratikos Collection, in London,³ the icon in the former Nikolenko Collection,⁴ three important icons in the Likhachev Collection⁵ (Nos.8,10,11), now in the Hermitage, the icon representing the same theme in the Antwerp exhibition,⁶ the icon in the Historical Museum of Moscow,⁷ as well as the later icon of the Tretyakov Gallery,⁸ in the same city.

A valuable example of this type - valuable especially because of the early date of its production, its exceptional quality and its size - is the icon belonging to the erstwhile Pisa Collection,⁹ showing a Latin inscription on the open scroll held by the Child in his right hand. Also interesting and important is the icon of the Glykophilousa of the same type, in Rijeka.¹⁰ The oldest example of this series is perhaps the icon of Our Lady of the Snows, in the Catholic church of the same name, in the Chora of the island of Naxos¹¹ (pl.60), which carries elements characteristic of early works, still very close to the means and methods of Palaeologan painting.

Of the icons above mentioned, of particular interest as regards the research on the semantics of the type, is icon No.70 of the Likhachev Collection, where the Virgin and Child are accompanied by two angels holding the symbols of the Passion - with the archangel Michael on the left (ill.8). This representation is now identified, by means of external signs also, with the Cretan representation of the Virgin of the Passion, and differs from the latter only in certain points. There is no need, here, for Christ to turn his face back towards the cross of his future sacrifice, since the Archangel Michael is portrayed on the left side and consequently in front of him; and thus the icon retains the form of the Glykophilousa. A similar element may be observed in the Rijeka icon, in which the concept of the Passion is indicated only by the Archangel Michael, who is portrayed above and on the right side, holding the Cross. Notwithstanding this, there also the Child does not turn his face, with the result that the original iconographic form remains undisturbed.

Among the icons of this series, Our Lady of the Snows, icon No.70 of the Likhachev collection and the Virgin of Antwerp also adhere faithfully to the

Byzantine type of the Glykophilousa of Chemochmedi (i.e. with the right arm of the Child around his mother's neck), while in other icons of this type the hand is hanging down and holds an open scroll inscribed: "*The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me*". Another exception to the rule is the icon in the Peratikos Collection in London, in which the Christ Child grasps the edge of the Virgin's maphorion, at the neck, while in his outstretched left hand he holds a closed scroll. It also presents another variation in that the Virgin's right hand is held between the Child's legs.

The iconographic variations of this last icon of the London collection now bring the representation closer to the Glykophilousa, at the end of the cylindrical apse of the Sanctuary of the parekklesion of the Monastery of the Chora (ill.9),¹² which constitutes one of the loveliest of the funerary representations of this chapel. The element which this mural representation has in common with both the Glykophilousa here examined and the Kardiotissa (pl.54), which is probably the work of the Cretan painter of the first half of the 15th century, Angelos, are indicative of the affinities between the Cretan representations and the Glykophilousa of the Monastery of the Chora, without necessarily implying a dependence from it.

Finally, the type in simpler form - but closer to the older prototype of the Chemochmedi icon - also appears in a small series of Cretan icons of the 15th century, of which we have chosen to include here the splendid icon from Sinai (pl.61), the Virgin Glykophilousa of the Byzantine Museum T224 (pl.65), the icon on the same theme of the Tsakyroglou Collection (pl.64), the Glykophilousa from a private collection in Rome (pl.63), and the icon in the church of St. Minas, in the Chora of Naxos (pl.68).

It is worth mentioning here that an iconography similar to that of the Cretan variant of the Glykophilousa of the 15th century, as well as to that of the Kardiotissa of Angelos, appears in an icon of the monastery of Mt. Sinai¹³ (ill.5) which, judging from its stylistic and other features must be dated to the beginning of the 14th century, and which constitutes a valuable aid in the study of this iconographic type.

The icon of Sinai is identical to our Glykophilousa as regards the attitude and the position of the two figures - with the Child seated on the left, and his legs covered by the himation over the left arm of the Virgin. It resembles the Kardiotissa mainly in the uplifted arms of Christ which, however, are not held in the same position as that established by Angelos. Here, the Child's left hand touches the chin of his mother, in the same way as in the

Byzantine representation of the Glykophilousa of the Byzantine Museum (T137), which is considered the first version of the type of the Virgin with the *reclining infant* (see introductory note to the section on this iconographic type). He wears a golden-green chiton and a himation which hangs loosely at the waist, without the pleated sash and the brace-like bands on the shoulders usual in this type.

We have taken the representation of the Sinai icon to be the precursory example of our representation (see Kardiotissa), in spite of its common iconographic elements with the Cretan Kardiotissa, with which, besides, our Glykophilousa is also connected.

Observations on the meaning and symbolism of the type

From the semasiological point of view, our representation of the Glykophilousa also belongs among those of the Virgin of the Passion, as is indicated also by her resemblance to the Virgin of the Parekklesion of Chora (Kariye Camii) which is integrated in the funerary iconography of the chapel. Confirming this view are the several characteristics of the representation, which are usually attributed to the iconography of the Passion.

Among the most indicative iconographic elements and those most obviously connected with the semantics of the Passion is the upturned sole of the Child's foot, from which often hangs the loose sandal. This feature, which invariably characterises the Cretan representation of the Virgin of the Passion, has been in use ever since the first post-iconoclastic years, in the iconographic type of the Virgin and Child, but without the addition as yet of the outward signs conveying the meaning of the future Passion. Among the oldest examples of this type, we may cite here the Virgin Hodegetria of Tsikanli, in Georgia,¹⁴ which has been dated to the 9th-10th century. We find these outward signs symbolising the Passion - without, as yet, the loose sandal - in the Arakiotissa of Cyprus,¹⁵ where the standing Virgin and her Child are accompanied by the angels bearing the symbols of the Crucifixion.

The upturned sole was probably also depicted in the painting of the infant Christ in the arms of Simeon,¹⁶ which is next to the Arakiotissa, while the series is completed by the representation of St. John the Baptist, standing, and holding an open scroll on which are inscribed the premonitory words: "*Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world*", suggesting the future Passion of Christ. The entire scene of the Presentation in the Temple, which is rendered in a complex composition charged with symbolic allusion, conveys its meaning also by oth-

er elements, such as the peculiar, half-reclining posture of the Child and his naked legs. The Presentation of Araka has recently been linked to the iconography of the future sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, in relation to its prefiguration in the sacrifice of the paschal lamb of the Israelites on the eve of their exodus from Egypt.¹⁷ It was in commemoration of this sacrifice that Mosaic Law prescribed that each first-born male child should be dedicated to the temple, following the period of purification of the mother, forty days after his birth.

The iconographic emphasis on the bare legs of the Child was connected with the sacrifice of the lamb of the Jews, and with the particular attention given in the explanatory patristic texts to its role in prefiguring the future sacrifice of the Christ of the Presentation.

As to the upturned sole of the Child - which is often emphasised on the bare foot - this is again linked to the Passion¹⁸ through a different correlation, namely through that of the "lifting up of the heel" against Christ by the betrayal of Judas.

This correlation is made by Jesus himself, in the evangelical story of the Washing of the Feet. According to the Gospel (John 13), after washing their feet, Jesus addresses himself to his disciples with the well-known words: "... but that the scripture may be fulfilled. He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me", which corresponds to Psalm 41:9: "mine own familiar friend... which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me". On the same theme, Theophylact, Bishop of Ochrid, in the 11th century, noted: "...Those wrestlers who bstride their adversaries by stepping on their heels, prevail over them".

Reference to the heel and the prefiguration of the Passion is also made in the interpretation of the Biblical passage (Genesis 3:14-15): "And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle and above every beast of the field... And I will put enmity... between thy seed and her (the Woman's) seed; it shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel".¹⁹

A similar interpretation is given by Hippolytus Romanus to Jacob's words: "Dan shall be a serpent by the way... that biteth the horse's heels..." (Gen.49:17): "The serpent then, it is he, the seducer, the Antichrist, of whom it is spoken in Genesis, who seduced Eve and lifted up his heel against Adam".²⁰

The same meaning is conveyed by Necetas Acominatus of Chonae, when he speaks of the "heel-watching adder"²¹ as also in Ioannis Diaconus: "Satan who looketh at the heel".²²

The lifting up of the heel against Jesus, as a metaphor of the Passion and of the betrayal of Judas, is also the theme of a troparion chanted in the Good Thursday service of the Orthodox Church, in

which once again, the lifting up of the heel is linked to the evangelical story of the Washing of the Feet: "Forgetting with intention the laws of friendship, the Iscariot of evil name prepared the feet thou hadst washed towards betrayal; and having eaten Thy bread, Thy holy Body, lifted up his heel against Thee, Christ".²³

In Byzantine iconography, and especially in the Psalters,²⁴ this verse of the 41st Psalm ("the friend which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me") is rendered with the representation of the Last Supper and Judas as, for instance in the Chludov Psalter and in those of London, of Barberini (Barb. gr.372 - of the 11th century), of Bristol and of Hamilton. Even more eloquent, the Psalter of the Sinaitic Code, No.48, illustrates the Psalm with a representation of the Betrayal itself.²⁵ Besides, the same verse, according to the *Painter's Manual* of Dionysius of Fourna, accompanies epigrammatically the representation of the Betrayal.²⁶

It is worth pointing out here that the prefigurative meaning of the Psalm is also revealed by its presence on the scroll held by Solomon in the mosaic representation of the Capella Palatina,²⁷ which has been connected to the Passion of Christ, to his descent from the house of David and to his prefiguration in the person of Solomon.

This particular symbolism of the heel of Christ, which was prefigured in the Old Testament and which is mentioned in the Gospel according to St. John, appears to be rendered in Byzantine painting by the heretofore unexplained and peculiar movement of the upturned sole of the Child's foot, in representations of the Virgin and Child which, as has been proven, are connected with the future Passion.

Finally, from the above correlation, it is now possible to interpret the loose sandal which, in our representation also, hangs from the Child's upturned sole. This last feature, which is absent from none of the portrayals of the Virgin of the Passion in the Cretan icons of the 15th century,²⁸ is often employed in the representations of the Glykophilousa of the same period - the connection of which with the concept of the Passion is indubitable. The loose sandal - which has been connected with the Child's fear of the symbols of the Passion - is now also given a different interpretation. Because, if the "lifting of the heel" against Jesus, in the betrayal of Judas, is related with the naked upturned heel of the Child, then, the loose sandal, which leaves this part of the sole unprotected, symbolises once again the corporeal death of Christ.

As to the symbolism of the sandal which protects the foot, we also find it referred to by Symeon of Thessalonike. In his interpretation of the symbolism of the garments worn by the monk, he especially mentions the sandals: "Then the sandals (are worn by

the monk) in preparation, it is said, for the Gospel of peace, that he may not dash his spiritual feet against stones, nor have the heel of his meditations bitten by the serpents of his mind, but that he may walk on them and step on very dragons, on the hidden beasts of wickedness and envy."²⁹

A similar reference is made by Gregory Palamas with regard to the shoes of the Prodigal, in his interpretation of the evangelical parable: "But also shoes on his feet, that he may with divine guard and surety step on serpents and scorpions and on every power of the enemy".

1. Thierry 1979, p. 59, ill. 14.
2. Op. cit., ill. 17.
3. N. Chatzidakis 1982, no. 5. *Fine Icons* 1980, no. 78.
4. *Galerie Nikolenko* 1975, no. 5.
5. Likhachev 1906/1908, no. 66, 68, and 70. On nos. 66 see also Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, p. 19.
6. *Golden Light* 1988, cat. no. 59.
7. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, no. 42, p. 403, pl. 42 (Kyzlasova).
8. Op. cit. no. 70, p. 422, ill. 70 (Sidorenko).
9. *Catalogue de la Collection Pisa* 1937, 1, p. 11, no. 724. Van Rijn 1980, no. 100, p. 179, p. 100.
10. Mirković 1962/1963, no. 12, p. 394, ill. 12.
11. Zias 1971, p. 483, ill. 501.
12. Underwood 1966, 1, p. 249. 3, pls. 486, 487. Der Nersessian 1975, p. 319.
13. Unpublished.
14. Kondakoff 1915/1916, II, p. 190-191, ill. 87. Alibegashvili, Volskaja 1983, pl. on p. 94.
15. Sotiriou 1953-54, A', p. 87-91. A. and J. Stylianos 1985, p. 166, ill. 85. Baltoyianni, "Christ the Lamb and the 'Ενώπιον' of the Law in a Wall Painting of Araka", *ΔΧΑΕ ΙΖ'* (in print).
16. A. and J. Stylianos 1964, pp. 76-77, ill. 32.
- Baltoyianni, op. cit. Belting 1981, p. 130.
17. Baltoyianni, op. cit.
18. Baltoyianni 1994, pp. 23-35.
19. On the connection between the words of St. John's Gospel (13:18), and the 41st Psalm and the passage in Genesis (3:14-16), as well as on their link with the prefiguration of the betrayal of Judas and the Passion, see Damalas 1940, p. 548.
20. *Απόδειξις περὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ Ἀντιχρίστου*, PG 10, 737B.
21. Niketas Choniates, *Ἱστορία*, 193D.
22. PG 105, 968-969.
23. *Τριώδιον της Αγίας και Μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστής*, Apostoliki Diakonia eds., Athens 1960, p. 384.
24. Dufrenne 1978, 40th Psalm.
25. Op. cit.
26. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909, p. 81.
27. Kitzinger 1991, σ. 239.
28. Chatzidakis 1974α, pl. IA' 1. Chatzidakis 1974b, ill. 74, 75, 76. Cattapan 1973, pl. A' 1, 2, B' 1, 2, and Γ' 1.
29. *Περὶ Μετανοίας*, PG 155, 497.
30. PG 151, 44.

32. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Naxos, Chora. Catholic Church of Our Lady of the Snows

Dimensions: 0.90 x 0.70 m.

First half of the 15th century.

Pl.60.



Our Lady of the Snows in the Catholic church of the same name in Chora, Naxos, belongs to the variant of the Glykophilousa which constitutes a parallel type to that of the Kardiotissa.¹ The Christ Child is seated in an upright position on the Virgin's left arm, and is turned towards his mother with his back to the viewer. With her right hand, the Virgin supports the Child's crossed legs, which are covered with his himation, while her left hand supports his back. She wears a purple maphorion and a deep blue headband. The Child's chiton, embroidered with florets, has been rendered in lighter tones of the same colour, as has been his sash with the dense gold webbing. His himation, in deep tones of sienna, also shines with dense gold webbing with larger gold areas highlighting the edges of the volumes it covers. Here, too, it falls loosely around the Child's waist.

His outstretched left hand holds on to his mother's maphorion, while his right arm is wound around her neck, under her head covering. He turns his face towards the left and his young cheek is pressed against the Virgin's left cheek.

As far as the general iconographic form is concerned, the icon is a repetition of the Byzantine Glykophilousa of Karabas Kilisse, in Cappadocia,² and of the Virgin of Chemochmedi, in Georgia.³ It differs from these only in that the back of the Child is now turned entirely to the viewer.

Of the surviving examples of 15th-century Cretan icons which repeat this type, the ones with which it presents iconographic identity are the Glykophilousa no.70 of the Likhachev collection⁴ (ill.10), and the Antwerp icon,⁵ where the infant Christ winds his right arm around the neck of the Virgin, in the same way as he does in the Byzantine Glykophilousa. He does not hold the open scroll with the inscription: "*The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me*", as is the case in five icons of the series, on the same theme (ills.8, 11), and is also differentiated from the icon in the M. Peratikos collection in London⁷ (see introductory notes to the section on the type).

From the stylistic point of view, the icon of Our

Lady of the Snows belongs among the late examples of late Palaeologan painting, as is indicated by the particular features which differentiate it from the other icons of the same type dated to the advanced 15th and 16th centuries. Among these we may note the extremely large and almond-shaped eyes of the Virgin, which slope downwards at the edges and which are rendered in a different shape and on different levels, the right one being painted lower down. This position of the eyes is followed not only by the arch of the eyebrows, but also by the translucent irises which likewise assume a different shape and position.

The same artistic delicacy is shown in the delineation of the lips, which are placed slightly to the left, following the oblique axis created by the inclination of the head. The nose is slightly forked at the base and its wings are small.

The exceedingly long fingers are extremely expressive, especially those of the left hand, in which the index finger - slim and alabastrine - is markedly separated from the rest. The Virgin's expression is sorrowful, but the countenance is still fairly lively, without the formalism of the Cretan painting of the advanced 15th century. The Child's glance is intense and vivacious, and is in accordance with the Palaeologan portrayal of the type, which is characterized by the small curls framing the wide brow, the long face with the plump infant cheeks and the short neck, as we see it in the Church of the Saviour (Kariye Camii).⁸ It presents similarities with the Christ of the latter icon in particular features also, such as the shape and warm sienna colour of the himation, with the rectangular and orderly gold areas highlighting the volumes covered by the garment, which falls loosely at the waist.

Our icon presents an even closer affinity with that of the Pelagonitissa of the Sinai Monastery,⁹ which has been dated to the beginning of the 15th century. We observe there the marked differentiation in the shape of the Virgin's eyes, the lowered arches of the eyebrows and the heavy lids. The long and narrow nose with the almost non-existent wings is the same, as is the contrast between the lively look of the Child and the deeply sorrowful expression of his mother. Also present in the icon are the long, unarticulated fingers of the Virgin, with their finely-tapered tips.

Finally, the Naxos icon seems to be identified with the Pelagonitissa of Decani,¹⁰ which has been dated to the 14th century, and the stylistic and physiognomic characteristics of which are faithfully reproduced here. The absolute identity of the two faces, especially those of the Virgin, is proven by the repetition of all the particular features, such as the lowered eyelids, the delicately asymmetrical delin-

eation of the eyes, the low arches of the eyebrows and the long nose with the marked curve of its wings. The physiognomic characteristics of the Child are the same in both icons: the long hair covering the nape of the neck and the oval shape of the face. There are also similarities in the way the sash is pleated and in the two shoulder bands which end up at the sash.

In spite of all the above, the Naxos icon departs both from the Pelaginitissa of Sinai and from the Virgin of Decani, its more confused atmosphere bearing no relation to the clear and luminous presentation of the two previous icons. The uncertain technique in the moulding of the flesh, the less careful elaboration of the otherwise lovely colours, and theedulcorated - with various mixtures - rendering of the purple maphorion of the Virgin in the Naxos icon, but, above all, the Italianising mournfulness of the particularly expressive lips, distance it from the Palaeologan figure of the Pelaginitissa. Removed, however, even from the formalized grave appearance of the Cretan figures of the advanced 15th century, the icon of Our Lady of the Snows is now assigned to a period some time before the beginning of that century and, certainly after the Virgin of Sinai and the Pelaginitissa of Decani.

33. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine.

First half of the 16th century.

Plates 59, 61, 62.



The icon, which constitutes a particularly fine specimen of Cretan painting in its stage of full maturity, reproduces the type of the Virgin Glykophilousa holding the Child in both her arms (see introductory note to the icon of Our Lady of the Snows). The Christ Child comes

very close to his mother, with his face touching her own, while his crossed feet - with the upturned sole and the loose sandal - rest on her left arm. He embraces her with his right arm around her neck and under her head covering, while his left hand grasps the edge of her maphorion, in front of her breast.

The crossed feet of the Child, the upturned bare sole of his right foot and the loose sandal, which have been classed among the features related semiologically to the Passion, characterise - with few

Bibliography: Zias 1971, p.483, ill.501.

1. On the origin and development of the type of the Kardiotissa and the relation of the latter to the parallel form of the variant of Our Lady of the Snows, see corresponding introductory notes.

2. Thierry 1979, p.59, ill.14.

3. *Op.cit.*, ill.17.

4. Likhachev 1906/1908, no.70.

5. *Golden Light* 1988, no.59.

6. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, no.42, p.403, pl.42 (Kyzlasova); no.70, p.422, pl.70 (Siddorenko). *Galerie Nikolenko* 1975, no.5. Likhachev *op.cit.*, nos.66 and 68.

7. N. Chatzidakis 1982, no.5. *Fine Icons* 1980, no.78.

8. Underwood 1966, 1, p.249; 3, pl.486, 487.

9. G. And M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.235. Mouriki 1990, p.124, pl.74.

10. Grabar 1975b, pp.25-30, ill.2.

exceptions - the entire series of Cretan icons of the 15th and 16th centuries, which reproduce or are variants of the iconographic type of our icon (see introduction to the iconographic parallel of the Virgin Kardiotissa).

To the elements indicative of the Passion have been added also other features of the representation, and especially that of the anxious Child who holds on to his mother's garment. This significant iconographic application, which characterises other types of the Virgin Glykophilousa, as well, such as the Kardiotissa (pl.54), the Virgin of Kykkos, and a rare type of the Virgin of the Passion (pl.90), also occurs in all the representations of the childhood of Christ connected with the prefiguration or premonition of his future sacrifice, such as, for instance, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Presentation in the Temple.

The representation follows an old Byzantine prototype which survives until the Cretan icons of the 15th century. The oldest Byzantine example of this type is already to be found in the mural painting of Karabas Kilisse in Cappadocia,¹ in which the Virgin holds the Christ Child in both arms, her right arm supporting his feet - which are not yet crossed, here - while her left hand is held high up behind his

back, at the nape of his neck. The Child is turned towards his mother, in a three-quarters position, with his hand stretched out towards the left. He is most probably touching the maphorion of the Virgin (the mural has suffered damage in this area) as is proven by the representation of the Glykophilousa at Tokali Kilisse.² There the Virgin touches the Child's knees with her hand, but his hand holds on to the edge of her maphorion, at the breast. The Child is also pictured with his hand outstretched to the left in the Virgin of the icon of Chemochmede,³ which reproduces the iconographic type of the mother supporting the Child's legs. The Child here turns his body even more towards his mother, his back now being almost completely to the viewer. This last feature - in the process of development - is found in the Virgin of the Parekklesion of the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii)⁴ (pl.9) from which seems to derive the series of Cretan icons of the 15th century with the peculiar position of the Child turning his back to the viewer (see, here, the Glykophilousa in the Church of Our Lady of the Snows, in the Chora of Naxos and in the relative indications of the new representation; see, also, the final, completely formulated iconography in the Kardiotissa of Angelos).

Stylistically, the icon belongs to a series of works of the first half of the 16th century, which reproduce the methods and techniques of well-known artists of the second half of the 15th century, and mainly those of the very competent painter and excellent

craftsman Andreas Ritzos. The exceptionally fine technique displayed in the work and the conscious knowledge of the art of using colours to their best advantage is evidenced in the special treatment of the lacquer in the Virgin's maphorion, where the subtle gradations of tone soften the rigid angles of the geometric folds. The same extraordinary skill is shown in the use, here, of the rich emerald colour in the visible parts of her chiton and of her pleated headband. Among the features which recall the practices of Andreas Ritzos are the gradual progression from the shaded to the lighted areas of the flesh and the lightly drawn and delicate outlines of the eyes.

A feature indicative of an advanced period, around the beginning of the 16th century, is, perhaps, to be found in the long fingers of the Virgin's left hand, which the artist has attempted to render naturalistically, with rounded sides and strongly marked articulations. Disproportionately large and naive are the ornamental designs on the Christ Child's chiton, and uncertain - possibly awkwardly executed - is the gold webbing in his himation.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Thierry 1979, p.59, ill.14.
2. Op.cit., ill.13.
3. Op.cit., ill.17.
4. Underwood 1966, 1, p.249; 3, plates 486, 487.

34. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Rome Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.39 x 0.30 m.

Third quarter of the 15th century.

Pl.63.



The icon represents the Virgin in a variant of the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa, with the Child held in both his mother's arms and holding on with his left hand to the edge of her maphorion, at the breast.

The representation is painted against a gold ground, with the Virgin shown in half length and holding the Child on her left side. Her head is deeply bowed and her face touches that of the Child, who is seated upright in her lap, with his tightly crossed legs resting on his mother's right arm. He embraces his mother, winding his right arm around her neck, under her head covering.

With the other hand he holds on to his mother's maphorion, which falls obliquely before her breast. He wears a dark blue, richly pleated chiton, brightened by gold striations in intricate designs which follow the movement of the folds. His rich himation, shining with a profusion of gold streaks, covers both his legs and falls freely, its loose pleated edge coming under his mother's right hand. The sole of the Child's right foot is turned up.

The Virgin is clad in a dark brownish-purple maphorion, which covers her head and falls on her shoulders, leaving a large opening on the left side, through which shines her long neck, with its wide base. The maphorion is crossed over the breast, with superposed oblique folds, which are rendered with dark black lines in the shaded parts and with fine, hard outlines, in the lighter ones.

A large, unpleated section of her garment, which falls in wide undulations below her shoulder, is bordered by a narrow gold band edged with a long and elaborate fringe. Her punched halo is adorned with a spiralling foliate decoration, with floral designs, both within and without its curving lines.

Our icon, which retains the position and attitude

of the Christ of the ancient prototype at Karabas Kilisse,¹ is identified iconographically with icon no.T224 of the Byzantine Museum (pl.65), which is dated here to the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century, with the small icon of the Tsakyroglou Collection (pl.64), with the icon of the Museum of Ravenna,² and with that of the Galleria Regionale of the Palazzo Bellono, in Syracuse.³

Our icon differs considerably, from that of Ravenna - which, we believe, is to be dated to the end of the 15th century - as to its stylistic features, which leads us to date the former to an earlier period, and certainly not later than the third quarter of the same century. The luminous face of the Virgin (devoid of shading and outlines) in our icon, the handling of its physiognomic traits (the exaggeratedly small mouth, the narrow eyes, the very thin arches of the eyebrows), and the large hands with the long fingers, all point to a workshop which still follows very closely the old Sienese methods of painting, as these were reproduced in the early Cretan workshops before the end of the 15th century and before these workshops had definitely established the new late-Gothic characteristics in their westernising works of that period.

The iconographic type of the Virgin in a series of Cretan icons is now definitely established, with features such as the white brushstrokes under the eyes, the dim lights on the lighted parts of the flesh, and the thin incorporeal hands delineated only by luminous, off-white outlines.⁴ Of the icons most closely related to our representation - in a more elaborated rendering - is icon no.70 of the Likhachev collection,⁵ in which the Child is turned more definitely towards his mother, whose maphorion is closed in front all the way up to the neck. However, certain

stylistic elements and particular details bring this icon closer to that of Rome. The eyes of the Virgin are narrow and slanting, underlined by the same white strokes; the hands are large, the Child's hair is rendered in the same way, and identical, also, are the dense gold striations on his chiton. To the third quarter of the 15th century and to the same period as that of the icon of the Likhachev Collection we shall also assign the Virgin of Rome, which moreover presents other elements which lead us to date it thus. The Child's freely-rendered himation, with the soft folds of the undulating edge of the garment over his knees, the plump sole of the left foot, which has not yet been given the conventional form it acquires at the end of the 15th century - with its particular lights on the toes - also refer us to an earlier period.

Finally, the angels bearing the symbols of the Passion which complete the representation of the Glykophilousa of the Likhachev Collection reveal the particular meaning of our icon, which by its resemblance with the former icon, also declares itself a representation of the Virgin of the Passion.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Thierry 1979, p.59, ill.14.
2. Angiolini-Martinelli 1982, no.1, coloured plate on p.33.
3. *Siracusa Bizantina* 1989, no.68, pl.68.
4. See the late-Gothic treatment of the figures in the Cretan icon on the same subject as that of Syracuse, op.cit. pl.68.
5. Likhachev 1906/1908, no.70.

35. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Byzantine Museum.

Dimensions: 0.34 x 0.244 m.

Late 15th - early 16th century.

Plates 65, 66, 67.



The icon presents the Virgin in a variant of the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa, holding in both her arms the Child, who embraces her with his right arm and holds on to the edge of her maphorion, at the breast.

The representation follows the type faithfully even in its several details. The

Christ Child is portrayed sitting upright, with his legs resting on his mother's right arm. Again he presents his upturned right foot, from which hangs, here also, his loosened sandal. He is clad in a sleeved chiton, of a dark deep blue colour, with dark green tints, and shimmering with gold striations. An ochre-coloured himation with gold glints falls loosely about his waist in rich and gentle folds and undulations.

The iconography of the representation differs slightly from that of the other of the series, in that the face of the Virgin is in a more upright position, without the deep inclination towards the Child which appears in the others.

The composition is well organised and the significant iconographic element is clearly defined, the bottom part of the Virgin's maphorion forming a

deep fold in which the wide and softly-pleated edge of the Child's himation fits amply. The haloes are also plainly executed with a simple decoration of densely arranged dots which do not follow a pattern, such as, for instance, the floral designs and scrolls which were usual at this time for this type of icon. An attempt at adding complementary decorative elements has been made by incising a naive design of continuous, but not always even, rhomboid sections on the gold background of the icon.

Here, if we are not dealing with a more recent intervention - which is quite possible, if the old gold has been replaced (a conjecture which is made more plausible by the fact that the inscriptions are carelessly and badly written, especially the surname of the Virgin: Η ΓΛΥΚΟΦΙΛΟΥΣΑ, which is written in untidy capitals), then the reason for this poor decoration must be sought elsewhere.¹ Because, the work itself, judging from its stylistic and other characteristics, points to a competent and skilful Cretan artist of the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, who would never have adorned the icon he was painting in such a slipshod manner.

Iconographically, the representation is the same as that in the Rome icon (pl.63), in the small icon of the Tsakyroglou Collection (pl.64), in the icon on the same subject of the Ravenna Museum, as well as in the icon of Cyprus.² It is related to the last icon stylistically also, as is evident in the similar treat-

ment of the faces. The beautifully traced low arches of the Virgin's eyebrows, in our icon, the manner in which the eyes are rendered, with the luminous brushstrokes around them and the large opaque irises with their intense look, are paralleled in the Cyprus icon. Differences between the latter and the icon of the Byzantine Museum - such as the flat modelling of the fully-lighted faces, the more westernised expression in both the figures, and the exaggeratedly long fingers of the Virgin - tally with the date (1551) mentioned in the dedicatory inscription, and place our icon, with its Cretan gravity of mien and the geometric disposition of the folds of the garments, at an earlier period, and not later than the beginning of the 16th century.

Bibliography: Chatzidakis 1963, p.9, pl.4b.

1. If this roughly executed decoration on the gold ground of the icon is the original one, then we should probably infer that this solution was made necessary by the urgency of the order, which did not allow the artist to produce his best work within the time limit allotted to him.

2. Talbot Rice 1937, no.53., p.224, pl.XXV.

36. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens. G. Tsakyroglou Collection.

Dimensions: 0.253 x 0.193 m.

Late 15th - early 16th century.

Pl. 64.



This icon constitutes a repetition of the type of the Virgin Glykophilousa, holding the Christ Child in both her arms. In this small icon also the Child embraces his mother with his right arm and holds on to the edge of her maphorion with the left. His legs are deeply crossed over her arm, while from his upturned right

sole hangs his loosened sandal.

This variant, as has been noted here (see the Virgin Glykophilousa in a private collection in Rome, no.34, pl.63), follows an old Byzantine prototype which survives in several variants up until the se-

ries of Cretan icons of the 15th and 16th centuries. Among the standard iconographic features of this type are the details of the Child's left hand holding on to his mother's maphorion and the crossed legs over the Virgin's arm. Among the Byzantine examples in which these characteristics are formalised we have cited the 11th-century mural painting at Karabas Kilisse¹ and, among the later variations, the Virgin of the Parekklesion of the Chora Monastery² (Kariye Camii) (ill.9), which gives a new form to the representation, and which is again modified by the Cretan painters to create new variants. Among those examples of the iconographic type which present the greatest affinities with our icon - and which are also chronologically closer - is the Glykophilousa of the Likhachev Collection³ (ill.), which we have dated to the third quarter of the 15th century.

Within the series of repetitions of the variant in Cretan representations, that with which our icon presents the greatest iconographic and stylistic similarities is the Virgin of Syracuse,⁴ in spite of certain differences which may be observed in the latter, where the late-Gothic characteristics are more pro-

minent. Our icon dates from the same period - the end of the 15th century - is an earlier work than the icon of the Byzantine Museum no. T225 (pl.65), and a later one than the Glykophilousa of the Museum of Ravenna.⁵

This small work, which is mainly interesting as an example of the survival of an old and respected prototype in such small and - in terms of dimensions - unimportant, icons,⁶ shows a competence in the pictorial means employed which indicates its provenance from a good provincial workshop of the late 15th or early 16th century, trained in the Cretan icon painting of this period.

The skill and experience of the painter are evidenced here not only in the faithful reproduction of the type which has retained the Cretan austerity of the figures, but also in the stylistic features of the work, which follow the means and methods of the good Cretan workshops of the 15th century.

The complex rendering of the geometric folds in the Virgin's maphorion, with the intermediate tonal gradations, the gentler, fluid draping in the chiton of the Christ Child which suggests the contours of the body underneath, and the well-chosen and skillfully applied gilding on the decorative bands as well as the gold streaks on the garments constitute characteristic features of the Cretan icons produced at the end of the fifteenth century, and which continue to survive at the beginning of the sixteenth.

A similar provenance is indicated by the punched

haloes, and the modelling of the flesh, with the wide shaded surfaces and the luminous triangular shapes on the faces. The particularly large hands of the Virgin, the opaque underpaint and the not very meticulous elaboration of the colours, tally with the somewhat provincial character of the representation.

Bibliography: Karakatsani 1980, no. 82, pl. on p.93.

1. Thierry 1979, p.59, ill.14.
2. Underwood 1966, 1, p.249; 3, plates 486-487.
3. Likhachev 1906/1908, no.70.
4. *Siracusa Bizantina* 1989, no.68, coloured plate 68.
5. Angiolini Martinelli 1982, no.1, coloured plate on p.33.
6. The type also survives in secondary 16th- and 17th-century workshops, as we can see in an icon in the Museum of Ravenna (Angiolini Martinelli, op.cit. no.7, p.76, ill. on p.76), and in an Italo-Cretan variant in another insignificant icon of the same Museum (op.cit.no.12).

37. The Virgin Glykophilousa

"Η ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΛΠΙΣ"

Naxos, Chora, Church of St. Minas.

Dimensions: 0.675 x 0.435 m.

Late 16th century.

Pl.68.



The Virgin is pictured in half length as a Glykophilousa. She holds the Child in both arms and inclines her head deeply towards him. The infant Christ is seated upright with his face close to her own. He turns his gaze towards her and winds his right arm around her neck, while his left hand grasps the edge of her maphorion in front of her breast. He rests

his left foot on the Virgin's arm, while his right foot hangs down, with the sole turned up towards the

viewer. He wears an off-white sleeved chiton and a himation brushed with gold, which hangs loosely below his waist, this time covering his legs.

The face of the Virgin, youthful and expressive of tenderness, is rendered using transparent greyish-brown underpaint for the shaded parts, while the luminous triangular surfaces are rounded at the edges and painted the colour of ripe corn. The highlights marking the edges of the volumes are small but intense. Her lips are rendered in two tones of red, which are repeated in the blush on her cheeks. Her eyes, narrow and almond-shaped, gaze upon the Child with manneristic tenderness and sadness. The rendering of the round infant face of the Child with its very small mouth, red lips, plump cheeks, the nose with the rounded tip, and the small but intense highlights, is in the same style. Foreign to the traditional Cretan painting is the rendering of the Virgin's hands, especially that of the left hand which supports the Child's back. Correctly articulated and extraordinarily expressive are the long fingers, which seem to have originated in Western Re-

naissance prototypes with which the painter of our icon is obviously familiar.

The above features refer us to practices and methods of the Cretan painters of the late 16th century, and especially to Michael Damaskinos. The characteristics pointing to this great artist of the period are mainly the rounded faces, the gentle modelling of the flesh, the rosy lips and the small and

intense highlights on the edges of the volumes, which are typical of works of the late 16th century, such as the figure of the archangel in the icon of the Van Rijn Collection, which bears the artist's signature.¹

Bibliography: Unpublished

1. Van Rijn 1980, plates 106-107.



Pl. 60. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.32). Naxos. Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady of the Snows. First half of the 15th century.



Pl. 61. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.33). Sinai. Monastery of St. Catherine. First half of the 16th century.



Pl. 62. Detail of pl.61



Pl. 63. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.34). Rome. Private Collection. Third quarter of the 15th century.



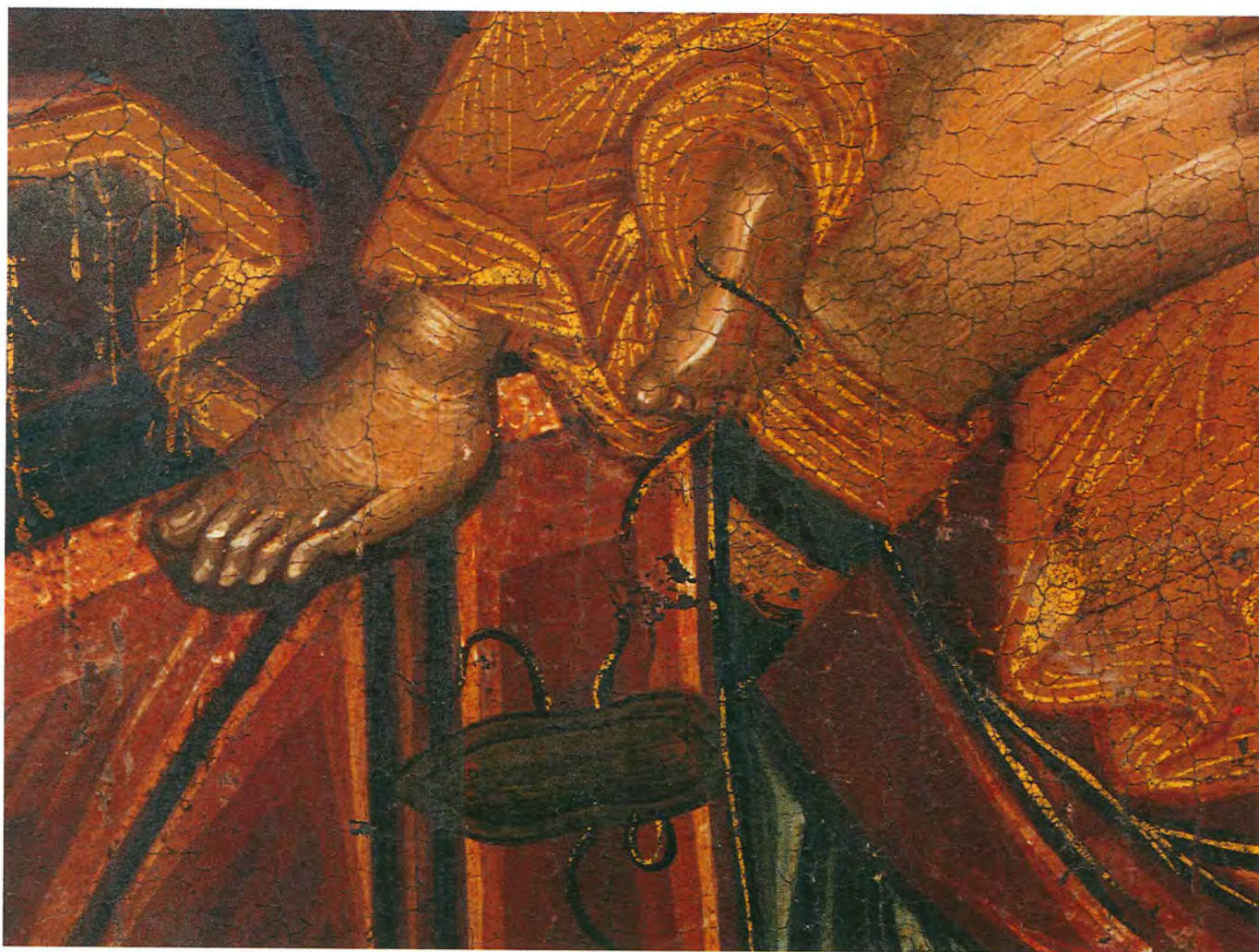
Pl. 64. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.36). Athens. G. Tsakyroglou Collection. Late 15th - early 16th century.



Pl. 65. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.35). Athens, Byzantine Museum (T224). Late 15th - early 16th century.



Pl. 66. Detail of pl. 65



Pl. 67. Detail of pl. 65



Pl. 68. The Virgin Glykophilousa "Η ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΛΠΙΣ" (no.37). Naxos. Chora. Church of St. Minas. Late 16th century.



A Variant of the Virgin Glykophilousa and the Descent from the Cross

One of the most symbolic and, at the same time, most emotive 15th-century variants of the Virgin and Child, is that of the Glykophilousa with the Child's hand reposing in her own.

The Virgin is portrayed in half length and holds on her left side the infant Christ who sits comfortably on her arm. She inclines her head towards him, her face very close to his, their lips almost touching. In her right hand, before her breast, rests the Child's hand. She wears the dark, mourning maphorion, closed all the way up to the neck, and a sleeved chiton, a small part of which is visible at the base of her neck and on her right side. Part of the narrow sleeve, adorned with a double gold band around the cuffs, is also left uncovered by the draped edge of her maphorion.

The Christ Child is always clad in a grey-blue sleeved chiton and a shining gold-threaded himation, which covers one of his shoulders and falls loosely about his waist. A wide pleated sash always encircles his waist; his torso leans slightly forward. His legs, which are covered by his himation, are deeply crossed, and the sole of his right foot, from which usually hangs his loosened sandal, is turned up.

This iconographic type is faithfully reproduced in a long series of icons of the 15th and 16th centuries. These are mainly Cretan, but there is no lack of icons produced by other local workshops that usually follow the Cretan tradition.

Among the most important icons of this series, we shall cite here: the Virgin in the Church of All Saints, at Trani, in Apulia,¹ two icons in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (T1588,² pl.70, and T78,³ pl.86), as well as the oldest and most important icon on the same theme (T351, pl.76), in the same Museum,⁴ which bears the forged signature of George Klontzas, and which is now dated to the 15th century. To the same series belong the Glykophilousa in a private Athenian collection⁵ (pl.73), in which we observe strong late-Gothic elements, three icons of the Likhachev Collection,⁶ now in the Hermitage, the lovely icon of the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens⁷ (pl.75), two icons in the D. Economopoulos Collection⁸ (plates 79, 80), the splendid icon of the Berat Museum⁹ (pl.81), outstanding in its technique and execution, the icon belonging to an Athenian collector¹⁰ (pl.84), which is interesting because it diverges from the established icono-

graphic type, the Glykophilousa of Ioannina,¹¹ three icons that were auctioned by Sotheby's, in London,¹² the Virgin of Avgasida in Cyprus¹³ – most probably the product of a local workshop – and two icons in Patmos.¹⁴ Also interesting is icon no. T139 of the Byzantine Museum of Athens (pl.71), which dates from the 15th century and which preserves the Palaeologan format of the Glykophilousa of Decani.¹⁵ The latter icon probably constitutes the precursive example of the type.

An icon of considerable importance, as regards the evolutionary process of the type towards its final formulation as a Virgin of the Passion, is the Glykophilousa no.T71 of the Byzantine Museum (pl.85), in which the Christ Child grasps his mother's right hand with both his hands. This detail, which constitutes a constant in the Cretan representation of the Virgin of the Passion, is indicative of the morphological and conceptual relationship between the two iconographic types, and reveals, at the same time, the existence of intermediary iconographic forms,¹⁷ which as their rarity proves, were never finally adopted.

Of the examples previously mentioned, the Trani icon and icon no.73 of the Likhachev Collection are complemented by two waist-length angels depicted in the act of adoration, with their hands covered by their himation. Vestiges of the same feature survive in the Virgin of Avgasida, in Cyprus, which, besides, presents another interesting detail: the symbolic earring (*enotion*) hanging from the Virgin's left ear.¹⁸ A punched halo with a floral decoration – which is usually a scroll embellished with flowers on the inside of the curves – are present in two of the icons auctioned by Sotheby's, as well as in the icons of Trani, of the D. Economopoulos Collection, in nos.T351 and T1588 of the Byzantine Museum and in icon no.73 of the Likhachev Collection. Also interesting is the surname Η ΑΜΟΑΥΝΤΟΣ – the Immaculate – inscribed on this last icon. This epithet usually accompanies the representation of the Virgin of the Passion.

Finally, worth mentioning here is icon no.T2644 of the Byzantine Museum of Athens (pl.94), which creates another variant of the type by presenting the following two iconographic deviations: the left hand of the Christ Child, which holds the closed scroll, does not rest on the hand of his mother but is

enveloped by it while his right hand is stretched out towards the left in blessing.

Origins and evolution of the iconographic type

The origins and sources of the variant of the Virgin Glykophilousa, showing the Child's hand resting in her right palm, most probably go back to some Palaeologan prototype, the form of which was perhaps not yet fully defined. What is certain is that, already towards the middle of the 14th century, we encounter in important examples of Palaeologan icons, a similar iconography, in a primitive form, and bearing the seminal elements of the final format. A characteristic example of this early development of the iconographic type in question is that of the Decani icon,¹⁹ which exhibits a complex Palaeologan format, which, judging from its rarity, seems not to have been included, finally, among the more static and classical themes of later Cretan painting. The hand of the Child which rests confidently in that of his mother in the standing Glykophilousa of Decani, is not the left hand, which here holds on to the edge of her maphorion, but the right one, which necessarily appears on a second plane, emerging from the inner right side of the Child. The Decani icon has been dated to the middle of the 14th century and has been attributed to a Slavic workshop which, as has been claimed, reproduced an older Palaeologan prototype.²⁰

The course is further traced to the later icon of Verria,²¹ now in the Byzantine Museum, in which the Virgin Glykophilousa is shown in half length, but still faithful to the Palaeologan model followed by the Decani icon. Nevertheless, here is apparent an already more advanced stage in the representation, and the beginning of a more classical and more monumental depiction.

Virtually completely formulated is the iconographic type as it appears in the Palaeologan icon of the Tretiakov Gallery,²² in which the format is by now conventionalised, although it is still the Child's right hand that reposes on that of his mother. The Virgin is shown in half length, as a Glykophilousa, with the Child seated on her left arm, wearing the sleeved chiton with the pleated sash and the himation, characteristic of this type of representation, falling loosely about his waist.

It is worth pointing out here that the pleated edge of the Child's himation now flutters behind his shoulder. This element has been seen as a prefiguration of the Resurrection, and survives in a much later icon of the Virgin Glykophilousa²³ (pl.84), which has been attributed to a Cretan workshop of the 16th century.

The icon of the Tretiakov Gallery was covered with a silver sheathing, which, according to Grabar, constitutes one of the most exquisite examples of early Palaeologan art.²⁴ Others have expressed the opinion that the icon, covered today by this precious silver overlay, is not the original one, but belongs to a Muscovite workshop of the 14th century and has replaced an older Palaeologan representation.²⁵ In spite of the above, the stylistic characteristics of the icon are suggestive of a Constantinopolitan Palaeologan work, which could perhaps be dated to the same period as that of the silver covering.

In Western painting, the detail of the Child's hand resting in his mother's right palm appears very early in representations of the Virgin and Child in Gothic and late-Gothic works. Among the best-known early examples of the type in the West is the Virgin Enthroned attributed to Cavallini in the blind apsidal recess of the funeral chamber of Cardinal Matteo Aquasparta,²⁶ in the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli of Rome. Closer still to the variation of our Glykophilousa is the painting of the Virgin Enthroned, in the church of SS Cosma e Damiano in Rome, in which the Virgin is now seen bending further towards the Child. However, the definite formulation of the type in the West seems to have been the work of Duccio²⁸ and his school.

We would conclude, then, that the representation we are examining derives from a Palaeologan prototype that has been remodelled by an early Cretan workshop of the 15th century, in accordance with the new principles and methods dictated by the socio-political climate of Crete at that time. We would now attribute the creation of the new iconographic scheme to Angelos,²⁹ although no icon of this type bearing his signature survives. The observations that lead us to this conclusion have been induced mainly by icon T351 of the Byzantine Museum, bearing the forged signature of George Klontzas (pl.76). The Glykophilousa of the Byzantine Museum presents characteristics, and especially physiognomic traits, which are closely related to similar elements in the Virgin Kardiotissa signed by Angelos³⁰ (pl.54). We find here the same deep inclination of the Virgin's head, the same – especially – long and delicate neck, the same sorrowful expression in the countenance and the same disposition of her maphorion, particularly in the undulations of her head covering, and the same narrow eyes, with the translucent irises and the infinitesimal whites at the corners.

Among the elements common to the two icons is also the delicate diaphanous underpaint in the shading of the flesh, which, in places, allows the underlying preparation to show through. Another of the iconographic details attributed to Angelos is that of

the Virgin's maphorion, which is crossed high up under her neck and falls back over her left shoulder.³¹ This treatment of the maphorion also characterises the Glykophilousa with the Child with the bare leg, in the church of the Prophet Elijah in Naxos,³² an icon we have already attributed to Angelos.

The variation of the Glykophilousa examined here, which is very closely linked, both iconographically and conceptually, to the representation of the Virgin of the Passion by Andreas Ritzos³³ – as well as to the way it is depicted in Cretan workshops as late as the 17th century – constitutes, in our opinion, one more precursory type of the Virgin of the Passion. It is, perhaps, the same iconographic scheme which is later complemented by the addition of outer symbols and transmuted into a more explicit representation of the Virgin of the Passion.

The two representations are equated in what is the most essential element of the iconographic scheme: in the manner, that is, in which the Child is seated, with his legs deeply crossed, the sole of his foot turned up, with the sandal dangling from it, his hand reposing in the right palm of his mother's – a detail which is slightly differentiated in the Virgin of the Passion, where both the Child's hands rest in his mother's hand.

The entirely novel feature which is added to the new representation of the Virgin of the Passion is the turn of the Child's head towards the right and towards the cross of his future sacrifice, which is held in the hands of the angel on the right – the two angels, as we have seen, having already been depicted in the Glykophilousa, without, however, the symbols of the Passion. This new iconographic detail necessarily modifies the entire position of the Virgin, who can no longer bring her face close to that of the Child, and therefore ceases to be a Glykophilousa. The advanced stage of development of the Virgin of the Passion – always considering it in relation to our representation – is also evident in the way in which the left hand of the Virgin,³⁴ on which the Child is seated, is curved, contrarily to the corresponding hand of the Glykophilousa, in which the fingers are straight and parallel to one another, and often depicted with a wider separation between the index and middle fingers.

One more element indicating the dependence of the Virgin of the Passion on our representation, is the depiction of the Glykophilousa, now in an advanced stage of iconographic development, as she appears in the wall painting in the church of St. Basil, on Patmos,³⁵ in which is reproduced the icon of the Strophades monastery. This mural was painted in 1722 by Stavrianos, from the island of Chios, who renders the Strophades icon following the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa.

There, too, the Virgin holds the Child on her left hand, and there, too, the Child is seated with his legs deeply crossed, the sole of his right foot turned up towards the viewer. His right hand is raised in blessing, while his left rests in that of his mother. The representation is complemented by two waist-length angels holding the symbols of the Passion, depicted on the top part, on either side of the Virgin's halo. However, the angel bearing the cross is pictured on the left side, so that the Christ Child can look towards him without turning his head to the right. The iconographic form of the representation is thus not disturbed, and the Virgin remains faithful to the type of the Glykophilousa.

On the left can be read the epithet Η ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΑ ("The Joy of All"), while on the right, also in capitals, is the inscription: Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΙΚΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΟΦΑΔΩΝ ("The Holy Icon of the Monastery of the Strophades"). An elaborate pearl-studded crown is painted on the head of both figures, an element that most probably suggests the possible existence of similar silver ornaments added at a later date to the icon as offerings.

The fresco in the church of St. Basil bears the date 1722 and was most probably painted during the stay of the Strophades icon in Patmos, after it had been acquired by the Monastery of St. John the Theologian in 1717. According to historical testimony, the Monastery of the Strophades was looted by pirates in 1717,³⁶ and the icon was sold, at that time, to the Monastery of Patmos,³⁷ from which it was later returned to the place where it belonged. It is likely that the fresco was executed by Stavrianos of Chios,³⁸ shortly before the icon was returned. This important icon is to be found today in the Monastery of the Joy of All (Panton Haras) of the Strophades, repainted and resilvered. Uncovered by the later silver ornamentation remain the faces and the hands of the two figures and the crossed soles of the Child's feet. The representation is similar, iconographically, to that of the fresco in the church of St. Basil, in Patmos. The Virgin is pictured as a Glykophilousa, in waist length, with the two angels holding the symbols of the Passion portrayed in miniature on the top right and left of the representation. Here, also, the angel bearing the cross is on the left. The seated Christ Child is turned towards his mother; his feet are crossed and his right foot from which dangles the loosened sandal, turned up. He blesses with his right hand, while his left reposes in that of his mother.

In spite of the recognisable iconographic form of the representation, the present state of the icon, which has been repainted in the places in which the original painting had probably been effaced, does not allow us to determine its chronological and styl-

istic place accurately. Thus, our ascribing it most probably to the beginning of the 15th century, is based only on its general atmosphere. Besides, such a dating accords with certain corresponding elements carried over to the reproduction painted on the walls of St. Basil, in Patmos, by Stavrianos of Chios.

Among these, so far as we can make out in a copy – and one, moreover, dating from the beginning of the 18th century – we note the deep curve formed in the front part of the Virgin's maphorion, from which emerge the Child's feet, and the richly draped rounded edges of his himation. The inclination, also, of the Virgin's head is very deep, and the oval shape of her face is stressed. Her lips are very small and delicately and rapidly drawn. Her eyes are narrow, almond-shaped and large. These facial features suggest those of early works before the Cretan forms had been conventionalised.

The above observations concerning the reproduction of the Strophades icon, do not preclude the view that this important icon could belong to the 15th century.

Finally, it is worth mentioning here that the variation of the Glykophilousa we are studying, is to be found in important icons on Zakynthos, from which comes also icon T351 of the Byzantine Museum – the oldest icon of the series on the same theme, which shows elements proper to the painting of the Cretan painter, Angelos.

We now believe that an iconographic parallel of the variant of our Glykophilousa already existed in Zakynthos, and that it was from this that developed the immediately following stage of the type, as we discover it in the icon of the Monastery of the Strophades islands (which lie off the coast of Zakynthos), which eventually leads us to the iconographic type of the Virgin of the Passion.

The final stage in the development of this iconographic type, before it acquired its definite shape, is probably indicated in the icon of the Kanellopoulos Museum,⁴⁰ in the central section of which is represented the Virgin of the Passion, and in which the Christ Child's face is not yet turned towards the angel bearing the Cross.

The Child is now seated more comfortably on his mother's hand, which is curved in order to accommodate him better; his upper body bends towards the left, his legs are crossed, and he holds on to the hand of the Virgin with both his own. His face is turned towards the viewer and does not come close to that of his mother. Thus, the Virgin is no longer a Glykophilousa.

The entire representation now presents the fully formulated iconographic type of the Virgin of the Passion, endowed with all its standard characteris-

tics; the two angels bearing the symbols of the Passion, framing the scene, the maphorion of the Virgin open at the breast and the himation of the Child falling loosely about his waist. The archangel Gabriel – the one holding the Cross – now stands at the right, and it is towards him that the Child will turn his face in the immediately following iconographic stage, when the type will have assumed its complete and final form.

Observations on the interpretation of the type

As has already been mentioned, the main characteristic in the iconography of the variant of the Glykophilousa we are studying, is the feature of the Child's hand resting in that of his mother. The feature is not a new one, and its appearance in representations of the Virgin and Child goes back to the 12th century, at which time are again emphasised the themes of the Passion – as evidence of the incarnation of Christ – and applied, as much in fully developed cycles of the Passion as in representations of the Virgin Glykophilousa, expressed in emotive forms and with references suggestive of the future Passion of the Child.

A particularly important icon and one of the most exquisite representations of the Virgin and Child, is that of Nicosia, painted in the 12th century and manifestly related to the Passion. In this icon, the Virgin not only holds the hand of the Child, but brings it tenderly to her lips.⁴¹

The same theme is repeated, in the same form, in the icon of the Monastery of St. John Chrysostom, in Cyprus.⁴² This not particularly common gesture of the Virgin in representations of the Virgin and Child was very soon taken up, and reproduced in paintings in the West, where the theme of the Passion excited particular emotion. One of the best known examples is the fresco in the church of Montmorillon,⁴³ where the allusion to the Passion of the Child is made clear by other iconographic details as well.

The iconographic relationship of this element with the conventional format of the Passion is finally made completely clear by references in poetic and liturgical texts and by its use in representations of the sufferings of Christ. Already since the 10th century, in Byzantine representations of the Descent from the Cross, in mural paintings and manuscripts, the Virgin is shown holding the hand – or both hands – of Christ, which she is often shown bringing close to her lips. Among the oldest depictions of the scene of the Descent from the Cross in which the Virgin supports the arms of Christ, is that in the fresco on the same theme at Tokale Kilisse in Capadocia,⁴⁴ and that in a 10th-century Florentine ma-

nuscript (Laur. VI 23).⁴⁵ We find it later in the tetraevangel of Parma (Pal. 5),⁴⁶ and the tetraevangel 5⁴⁷ of the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, as well as in the mosaic representation of the Nea Moni in Chios.⁴⁸

The most characteristic one, however, as regards our theme, is, we believe, the Descent from the Cross in the tetraevangel of Berlin (Berol. qu.66⁴⁹), which is dated to the 12th century and in which the Virgin holds the hand of Christ by the wrist and far from her face.

The insistent depiction of the iconographic feature of Christ's hand in the hand of his mother in the representation of the Descent from the Cross, which in the 12th century passes over into the portrayal of the Virgin and Child, as we have discovered it in at least two icons on Cyprus,⁵⁰ is not, we believe, accidental, but is intended to link the two themes semantically as well. Among the earliest references to the Passion of the newborn Child, with regard to his hands, is again the Kontakion by Romanus the Melodist, in which, referring to his sacrifice on the Cross, the Christ of the manger forewarns his mother that she will see the child she now holds in her arms "nailed by the hands".⁵¹ Also, in the Good Friday and Good Saturday services, the hands of the suffering Christ are often specifically mentioned. In the *Megalynaria*, especially, the sacrifice on the Cross is linked mainly to Christ's hands and to the wounds in his palms. One of the phrases most often repeated, and one of the loveliest, is the following: "Thou didst spread out thy palms and didst unite those things that were erstwhile divided",⁵² and, elsewhere: "It is meet to glorify Thee, the Giver of Life, who didst stretch out Thy hands upon the Cross".

But perhaps the most important reference to the hands of Christ in his sacrifice on the Cross is made by St. John Chrysostom, who often refers to the 22nd Psalm and to its meaning, in connection with the Passion of Christ and its prefiguration in that Psalm: "Harken to the blessed David speaking ere countless generations, prophesying of the Cross of Christ and crying: They pierced my hands and my feet... See how future things come to pass a long time thereafter".⁵³

We find the same reference elsewhere, where again the Passion of Christ is foreshadowed in the

words of David: "And, so many years before, thus spake David in the name of Christ: 'They pierced my hands and my feet'; and announced that which was to be." In another reference to the same Psalm, he relates the sacrifice of Christ to the sacrifice of the lamb, saying: "As an innocent lamb led to be sacrificed was I, which I knew not of. And again spake David in the name of Christ: They pierced my hands..."⁵⁴

But it is mainly the Virgin who has been connected with the wounded hands of Christ, over which she often laments and which at other times she lauds, in the Lamentations and Homilies. In the Homily of George of Nicomedeia beginning with "They stood by the Cross", it is she who laments and wonders: "How did my eyes not drop out of their sockets in beholding thy holy palms arbitrarily surrendered into murderous hands?"⁵⁵ It is again she who oversees the act of the descent of the body of Christ from the Cross "receiving the drawn nails in her bosom and embracing and repeatedly kissing the limp and lifeless limbs".⁵⁶ The description refers us to the iconography of the Descent from the Cross, in the most usual depiction of which the Virgin is shown holding the hand of Christ and often bending towards it and kissing it.

It is in the same way that the Virgin holds and kisses the hand of the Child in the two icons of Cyprus, and it is the same meaning, we believe, that should be attached to the holding of the Child's hand in our Glykophilousa.

In the Lamentation, also, of Symeon the Metaphrast, beyond the profound grief of the Virgin over her child's wounded hands, is also conveyed the soteriological meaning of this sacrifice which, as we know, has also been attributed to the Glykophilousa.

We now believe that our representation, so closely related iconographically to the semeiology of the Passion, as has been proven by the connection of this semeiology with the Virgin of the Passion in Cretan painting, is also linked semantically with the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, and especially with the iconographic scheme of the Descent from the Cross, where we first find the significant element of the type - the hand of Christ held in his mother's hand.

1. *Mostra* 1964, no.103, p.101, ill.108. Calo 1968, pp.19-20. Calo 1969, pp.21-22, ill.3. Cattapan 1973, no.6, p.270, pl. Δ'1. Chatzidakis 1977, pp.92-93. *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, no.44, pl. On p.80. A faithful reproduction of the Virgin at Trani, in Apulia, executed at a later date and not earlier than the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, is the Glykophilousa of the Sekulić Collection in Belgrade (*Sekulić collection* 1967, no.51, p.52 [in Serbian]).
2. Unpublished.
3. Unpublished.
4. G. Sotiriou 1955, no.35, p.22.
5. Unpublished.
6. Likhachev 1906/1908, 1) no.71, pl.XXXIX.2. 2) no.72, pl.XL. 3) no.73, pl.XLI. See also Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, ill.113A.
7. Brouskari 1985, p.134.
8. Baltoyianni 1985, p.134.
9. Unpublished.
10. *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1986, no.132, pp.128-130, pl.132 (Baltoyianni).
11. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1973/1974, p.613, pl.435 β-γ. *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1986, no.119, p.121, pl.119 (Triantafyllopoulos).
12. 1) *Fine Icons* (June 1981), Cat. No.78. 2) *Russian Icons and Russian Works of Art* (February 1984), no.168. 3) *Russian Icons and Russian Works of Art* (Oct.1986), no.121.
13. Papageorgiou 1976, no.64, p.154.
14. Chatzidakis 1977, 1) no.45, ill.34. 2) no.75, pl.134. The Glykophilousa of Brescia (Musei Civici) which has been dated to the first quarter of the 16th century (N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.40, pl.4 on p.165, where see also the previous bibliography), has also recently been connected with icon no.1 of the Monastery of Zoodochos Pighi in Patmos.
15. Baltoyianni 1992, pp.885-887.
16. Djurić 1961, no.30.
17. The existence of intermediate iconographic schemes before the complete formulation of the type of the Virgin of the Passion is proven also by the use of this same detail in the type of the Hodegetria, as it survives in the Amiantos (the Virgin Immaculate) of the Toplou Monastery (*Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, no.142, p.498, pl.142 [Borboudakis]). On a similar model is also the Virgin of the Kanellopoulos Museum, much closer now to the final form of the type (*Affreschi e Icone* 1986, no.76, pp.122-124, pl.76 [Potamianou]).
18. Baltoyianni 1993 (in press).
19. Djurić, op.cit.
20. Op.cit.
21. Unpublished.
22. *Iskusstvo Vizanti Sobranijakh SSSR* 1977, no.970, where appears also the earlier bibliography. Grabar 1975a, p.48, pl.XXX, ill.46.
23. Belonging to a private collection in Athens.
24. Grabar 1975a, op.cit.
25. Grabar op.cit. Antonova, Mneva 1963, p.246, no.210.
26. Matthiae 1966, II, ill.238.
27. Op.cit., ill.173.
28. In Duccio's Virgin, in the Galleria Nazionale of Perugia, Christ barely touches the fingers of his mother's right hand (Stubblebine 1979, ill.44). More advanced is the formulation of the type in the Virgin and Child, in Siena, by the school of Duccio (Stubblebine op.cit., ill.183). We find a more hieratic version in the icon of the Kunstmuseum of Copenhagen, in which the Child's hand is supported by that of the Virgin (Stubblebine op.cit., ill.193). In the Virgin and Child Enthroned, in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, the representation is complemented by two angels in bust length (Stubblebine op.cit., ill.293). See also the icon by Ugolino di Nerio in the Heinemann Collection in Lugano (Stubblebine op.cit., ill.419). The same gesture, referring us to the Descent from the Cross, see also in the icon of the Ex-Schiff-Giorgini Collection (Stubblebine op.cit., ill.443).
29. On the 16th-century painter Angelos, see chiefly Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp.290-298. N. Chatzidaki 1983, pp.17-19. Chatzidakis 1987, pp.147-154, where also find the complete bibliography.
30. G. Sotiriou 1956, p.32, pl.XXX. Xyngopoulos 1957, p.170. N. Chatzidaki 1983, no.1, p.17, pl.1. *From Byzantium to El Greco* 1987, no.35, p.170, pl.35 (N. Chatzidaki). *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.44, pp.203-204, pl.44 (N. Chatzidaki).
31. Baltoyianni 1985, no.16.
32. Baltoyianni 1982/1983, p.85, ill.6.
33. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.181.
34. Chatzidakis 1977, pl.18.
35. Marava-Hadjinikolaou 1957, p.53, pl. LXXXIV, ill.143. Koutelakis "The Virgin Panton Hara of the Strophades, an iconographical parallel on Patmos" (in Greek), *Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά* IE' (in press).
36. Zois 1955, p.317. Konomos 1967, p.155, where are set down reminiscences from the Codex of the Strophades Monastery, copied in 1849 by the then Metropolitan of Zakynthos, Nikolaos Katramis, according to which, on the

- 19th of August 1717 "*came (to the Strophades) ten galleasses from the royal armada and took the Monastery and despoiled it*" (Koutelakis, "Panagia Panton Hara" op.cit.). In the same place is set down also another reminiscence, this time concerning the seizure of the icon by the pirates during the looting of the Monastery in 1717.
37. Koutelakis op.cit.
 38. Marava-Hadjinikolaou op.cit. Koutelakis 1991, p.152.
 39. Konomos 1964, p.52, ill. On p.54.
 40. *Affreschi e Icone* 1986, no.76, p.122, pl.76 (Acheimastou-Potamianou).
 41. Papageorgiou 1969, p.18. Papageorgiou 1976, no.19.
 42. Papageorgiou 1969, ill. On p.26.
 43. Demus 1970, p.18, colour pl. On p.17.
 44. Millet 1916, p.474, ill.497.
 45. Millet op.cit., ill.494. Velmans 1971, f.7r.pl.7, ill.1.
 46. Millet op.cit., ill.496.
 47. Millet op.cit., ill.498.
 48. Mouriki 1985, B', pl.42.
 49. Millet op.cit., ill.505.
 50. Papageorgiou op.cit., ill. On p.18. Papageorgiou 1976, no.19.
 51. Maas, Trypanis 1963, p.16.
 52. *Τριώδιον* 1960, p.426.
 53. *PG* 53.85.
 54. *PG* 52.839.
 55. *PG* 100,1468C.
 56. *PG* 100,1483A.
 57. *PG* 114.217A: "*Therefore were the legs not broken, inasmuch as were not fractured any of the bones of the erstwhile sacrificed lamb*".

38. Double-sided icon
a) obverse: The Virgin Glykophilousa
b) reverse: The Crucifixion

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T139)

Dimensions: 1.125 x 0.745 m.

15th century.

Plates 71, 72.



On one side of this double-sided icon is portrayed the Crucifixion and on the other side the Virgin Glykophilousa with a row of saints in waist length on the bottom part.

The Virgin is depicted in the variant of the Glykophilousa with the Child's hand in that of his mother, an element which has been connected semantically with the Descent from the Cross (see introductory note on the type). The Christ Child is seated on her right arm; he turns towards his mother and brings his face close to hers. With his extended right hand he holds on to her maphorion; the other hand rests in her palm. His legs hang to the right and his richly-draped himation has slipped off from his shoulders. He wears a white short-sleeved chiton and a red sash which descends from the shoulders and tightly encircles his waist. Above, on either side of the Virgin's halo, are shown two angels in half length, their hands, which are covered by their himation, held in an attitude of worship.

The representation carries the inscription Η ΘΕΟΚΕΙΙΑΣΤΟC. Below, facing the viewer and in half length are depicted, from left to right, St. Kyriaki - who in a later repainting has been named St. Photini - St. Paraskevi, St. Theodosia, the saints George and Demetrius, the prophet Daniel, the prophet Elijah and, finally, St. Andrew of Crete.

The Glykophilousa of our icon, in spite of a conglomeration of elements borrowed from various types of the Virgin and Child, is mainly characterized by the features which we have considered to be a preliminary stage in the development of the Glykophilousa with the Child's hand in that of his mother, and which appears, in a complex Palaeologan form in the Decani Virgin.¹ The iconographic feature that differentiates the two representations is that our Glykophilousa holds the Child on her right side, while that of Decani holds him on her left. However, the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa holding the Child on her left side, as in the Palaeologan icon of Decani, is repeated in the well-known post-Byzantine icon at Castro in Leros,² which moreover presents certain particular stylistic

features, possibly indicative of a local tradition. However, a provenance from a local workshop, akin to the latter but earlier in date and showing different traditional influences, is indicated by our icon, also. The elongated face of the Virgin, the very long and thin nose, the small mouth and the particularly delicate fingers, seem to derive from Constantinopolitan, Palaeologan painting. On the other hand, certain other features of the representation, such as the harsh, fine linear lights on the edges of the folds and beneath the last thinned layer of the red lacquer of the maphorion, point to a familiarity with the methods of Cretan painting, as they were applied from the beginning of the 15th century on.

On the other side of the icon - as we have already mentioned - is portrayed the Crucifixion, which is limited to the depiction of the three principal figures participating in the event, outside the lofty walls of Jerusalem. The Virgin is shown holding her left hand to her face and raising her right towards the crucified Christ. Opposite her, St. John, his hand bent, his face resting on his right hand, allows his left arm to fall limply by his side, in despair.

The iconographic and stylistic characteristics of the representation indicate a relationship with the painting of the 15th century, in Rhodes, and especially with the fresco of the Crucifixion in the church of St. Phanourios,³ elements of which can also be discerned in our icon.

The particularities of the icon, its dependence from the Palaeologan painting of Constantinople, the iconographic affinity of the Virgin with the Decani Glykophilousa and with that of Leros, and moreover its iconographic and stylistic kinship with the wall painting of the church of St. Phanourios in Rhodes, lead us to the conclusion that the work is a product of a 15th-century local workshop, following a Constantinopolitan Palaeologan prototype, similar to that of the Decani Virgin.

It is worth noting here that on Leros there is a church of the Virgin Theoskepastos to whom our icon is also dedicated.

Bibliography: *Eidiki Ekthesi* 1984, no.4, pp.10-11. Baltoyianni 1991/1992, pp.85-87, ill.5.

1. Djurić 1961, no.30, pl.XLV.

2. Borboudakis 1989, p.138, pl. On p.139.

3. Orlandos 1948, ill.32.

39. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Byzantine Museum

Dimensions: 0.455 x 0.375 m.

15th century

Pls. 76, 77, 78.



On a gold ground, on a panel with a slightly raised frame, the Virgin Glykophilousa is portrayed in the variant showing the Child with his hand resting in the right palm of his mother, an element which has been connected typologically and semantically with the Descent from the Cross (see interpretative note on the iconographic type). She is pictured in half length, holding the Child on her left hand and very close to her. The Christ Child - as is usual in this iconographic type - holds in his left hand a scroll, which rests on his knee, and turns towards his mother, his gaze directed beyond the viewer. He has crossed his legs and the movement seems to have loosened his sandal, which dangles from his foot, retained only by its golden cord. On both countenances there is an expression of profound sadness, to which is added the obvious anxiety of the Child. Chromatically, the icon moves in general tones of red and in glints of gold, with rare deep blue areas in the chiton and the headdress of the Virgin and a greyish-blue in the Christ child's chiton, which is embellished with golden-red florets. In the gold margin, in the bottom of the painting, can be read the inscription: ΘΗΝΔΕ ΓΕΓΡΑΦΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΛΟΝΤΖΑ ("This (icon) was painted by the hand of George Klontzas"), an inscription which research has proved to be forged. On the top part of the representation, written in a careless minuscule script is a prayer in Latin to the Mother of God, in which can be distinguished the words: *Ave Maria Dulcia Deipara perpetua spes celestis Maria Vergine Ora pro nobis.*¹ The inscription, which in invoking the Virgin uses the epithet - among others - of "eternal and celestial hope", is reminiscent of the surname "The Hope of All" - *η Πάντων Ελπίς* - which we find in icon no. T71 of the Byzantine Museum (pl. 52), which presents the same iconography as that of our icon. This, we believe, indicates that the representation reproduces a well-known Cretan icon of the Virgin, bearing the surname of *η Πάντων Ελπίς*, and that at the time the Latin inscription was written, the Glykophilousa of the Byzantine Museum belonged to a Latin resident of Zakynthos, from which the icon comes. We should note here that this variant of the Glykophilousa is also found in other

icons of Zakynthos, such as, for instance, the silvered icon on the same theme, which used to be on the iconostasis of St. Constantine "Ton Kipon"² and which has long since been lost. The type, in an intermediary stage of development, was also depicted in the silver-covered and repainted icon of the Monastery of Theotokos Pantohara of the Strophades, which we know also from the fresco in the church of St. Basil, on Patmos,³ where the Virgin is portrayed as a Glykophilousa, with the Child's left hand again resting in that of his mother, but with the right hand, instead of holding the closed scroll, shown in the attitude of blessing. On the left side of the representation is read the epithet Η ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΑ, while on the right is the inscription in majuscules Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΟΦΑΔΩΝ ("The holy icon of the Strophades Monastery"). On the top part of the icon, two angels pictured in half length lean towards the Virgin, holding in their hands the symbols of the Passion. The fresco in St. Basil's church, on Patmos, was painted in 1722 and was the work of Stavrianos the Chian. The reason why the Strophades icon was reproduced in Patmos is connected, as we know, with the raid of 1717, during which the icon was stolen by pirates and sold in Patmos, from where it was later returned to the Strophades Monastery.⁴ The icon of the Byzantine Museum belongs stylistically among the works of the Cretan school of painting of the 15th century, not only because it carries elements suggestive of the means and methods employed by Cretan artists, but also because of the austere ethos of the figures it portrays. It presents a particular affinity with the icons of the Virgin of the Passion which, as has been maintained, were products of the workshop of Andreas Ritzos,⁵ a Cretan painter of the second half of the 15th century, but also with the painting of the earlier artist, Angelos, from which the former has borrowed the manner of modelling the flesh and, chiefly, the physiognomic characteristics of the figures. Kindred features of the painting of our icon to those of the works of Andreas Ritzos are to be found in the Virgin Glykophilousa of the same iconographic type, at Trani, in Apulia,⁶ which is now attributed with greater certainty to the famous Cretan painter, and also in the representations of the Virgin of the Passion, bearing his signature. The icon of the Byzantine Museum presents certain elements, such as the particular attitude and position of the Child, and especially the way in which the feet are crossed, and the hanging loosened sandal, which identify it as a Virgin of the Passion. Contrariwise, still missing from the Glykophilousa of the Byzantine Museum, are certain advanced features which are determinative in the formulation of this new representation. In the final form of the Cretan Virgin of

the Passion, the Child rests both his hands in that of his mother and turns his head towards the one of the two archangels bearing the symbols of his future sacrifice. This element, an external one in the semiology of the Passion, is still absent from the iconographic type of our Glykophilousa. With the Glykophilousa of Trani, our icon is related not only by reason of its absolute iconographic similarity, but also by reason of certain stylistic features. We discover again, in the Trani icon, the Christ Child's left hand, rendered in exactly the same shape and modelled in exactly the same manner as in our icon. Also, the left hand of the Virgin, which is just visible as it emerges from the drapery of her maphorion, is drawn in the same way, in the same shape, with the same articulation of the fingers. Moreover, the entire disposition of the folds of the Virgin's maphorion - especially the arched curve of the fold below her shoulder - reveals a close connection between the two painters, at least as regards the prototype they both follow. The differences which may be observed, particularly in the right hand of the Trani Virgin, which is plumper and with less marked articulations, the large eyes with the large irises floating in a wider expanse of white, the wider nose with the more rounded wings, point to the manner of Andreas Ritzos which is not that of the icon of the Byzantine Museum. Here, as we have already mentioned, the eyes are almond-shaped but narrow, the pupils smaller and translucent, very delicately rendered and with their whites limited to a tiny corner at the edges, and a thin, off-white line underneath. The nose is long and very narrow, the right wing delicately drawn, with a rounder but weaker curve. The face of the Child, also - with its plump cheeks, small mouth and short and rounded nose - is closer to the Palaeologan manner to which Angelos remains more faithful. Besides the above, the relationship of the Virgin of our icon with those in the icons of Angelos, and especially with the Kardiotissa in the Byzantine Museum (pl.54) is also proved by other features such as the eyes, which, there too, are narrow and almond-shaped, the physiognomic traits, the modelling of the flesh, all of which indicate a close kinship between the two icons. In spite of all this, however, the differences in the two representations (particularly in the treatment of the folds in the maphorion, which in our icon are more geometrically drawn, especially above the right hand, and in the comb-shaped lights on the curved area below the right arm) point to a later workshop, closer to the time of Andreas Ritzos, who faithfully follows the icon of the painter Angelos. Its iconographic similarity with the Trani icon rather seems to indicate a faithful iconographic reproduction from a model probably belonging to Angelos, as is suggest-

ed by certain features it presents which are characteristic of this artist's painting, and which are retained in the icon on the same theme in the Byzantine Museum. We insist on this correlation of the Trani Virgin with the icon of the Byzantine Museum, and with that of the Kardiotissa by Angelos and, finally, on the connection of all three to the Virgin of the Passion, since the inference which seems to emerge from this reasoning is that the Virgin of the Passion was created by Andreas Ritzos, using as a prototype an icon by Angelos, most probably of the same iconographic type as that of the Virgin of the Byzantine Museum which, as has been proved, was in the consciousness of the people of the time, in fact, a Virgin of the Passion. "Amolyntos", besides, is the epithet inscribed on one of the most beautiful 15th-century icons on the same theme, which used to belong to the Likhachev Collection and is now in the Hermitage Museum. In this icon the representation is completed by two angels in half length, their hands covered by their himation, but without the symbols of the Passion. On the other hand, these symbols are carried by the two angels in the fresco of the Virgin of the Monastery of the Strophades, in the church of St. Basil, on Patmos, which beyond its iconographic resemblance to our icon, seems to be linked also to its prototype. It is this type that is modified by Ritzos. He retains the main body of the composition and stresses the theme of the Passion, adding the angels with its symbols and turning the head of the now frightened Child towards them. This movement he interprets, moreover, using a Palaeologan text: "Ὁ τὸ χαῖρε πρὶν τῇ Πανάγνω μὲνύσας, * τὰ σύμβολα νῦν τοῦ Πάθους προδεικνύει * Χριστὸς δὲ θνητὴν σάρκα ἐνδεδυμένος, * πότμον δεδοικῶς δειλιᾷ ταῦτα βλέπων". *He who did erstwhile greet the All-Pure with a "hail"/now offers to view in advance the symbols of the Passion/and Christ, clothed in mortal flesh/seeing the signs of death displayed, is afraid* - verses which do not exist on any of the icons known to date, either signed by Angelos or ascribed to him. We would say, in conclusion, that the Glykophilousa of the Byzantine Museum derives from a prototype of Angelos'. With this prototype Andreas Ritzos is very familiar; he follows it also in the Trani icon and remodels the representation into a Virgin of the Passion.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. The effaced and illegible inscription was deciphered by Professor Chryssa Maltezou, whom we thank warmly. We must point out here that this manuscript invocation on the upper part of our icon is not unique. Similar petitions, particularly on icons owned by Latin clerics, have also been found elsewhere.

One of the most interesting testimonies, in this respect, is the case mentioned by N. I. Yiannopoulos and cited by D. Konomos (*Η Χριστιανική Τέχνη στην Κεφαλονιά* 1066, p.24) according to which he himself saw, on the iconostasis of the church of the Dormition of the Virgin, in Sami, Cephalonia, a very fine icon of the Virgin of the Glykophilousa type, the work of an unknown artist of the 16th century, in the right hand corner of which was a Latin dedicatory inscription. He adds that the icon was brought to Sami from the Monastery of the Phanenton, and that, in 1736, the hegumen of this Monastery, Raphael, wrote in the margin of the representation the prayer "that He may save, through Thine intercession, all those who toil and serve in this holy monastery, 1736, supplicates Raphael hegumen."

According to Konomos, the same icon is mentioned in Tsitselis (B', pp.380-381), who writes that

the icon was dedicated in 1571, after the battle of Lepanto, by Seb. Vernier, to a monastery in which there was also a St. Euphemia. All this historical information must not pass us by unheeded, as further research may reveal the identity and origins of our icon, which bears a Latin inscription and is a Glykophilousa, like the one seen by N.I. Yiannopoulos.

2. Konomos 1964, p.52, ill. on p.154

3. Marava-Hadjinikolaou 1957, p.53, pl. L XXIV ill. 143. Koutelakis, "The Virgin Panton Hara of the Strophades, an iconographic parallel in Patmos" (in Greek), *Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά* IE' (in press).

4. Zois 1955, pp.438-439.

5. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.181. Chatzidakis 1977, p.67.

6. *Mostra* 1964, pl.108. Cattapan 1973, p.373, pl. VI.2. *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, no.44, pp.139-140, pl.44 (Gelao).

40. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.58 x 0.455 m.

15th century.

Pls.73, 74.



The icon, one of the loveliest examples of the variant of the Glykophilousa with the Child's hand in that of his mother, comes from Corfu, and is painted on good quality wood with a fine preparation of red *bollo* on the back of the panel. The representation follows the iconographic type faithfully, albeit with certain innocuous deviations, combined with some stylistic particularities which indicate that it belongs among the Italo-Cretan works of the 15th century. The Virgin with the Child is now accompanied by two angels, pictured on the top part of the icon in an attitude of adoration, their hands covered by their himation.

Among the iconographic differences it presents in relation to the other icons of the same variation, we observe the different position of the Virgin's hand, on which the Christ Child is now seated more comfortably. The fingers are curved, the hand held lower down, thus supporting the Child more naturally. The Child here raises his head and turns his gaze towards the Virgin with a marked expression of anxiety and sadness. The pointed end of his himation is rendered with a multiplicity of small folds, while the scroll, held tightly in his right hand,

is shown in an upright position and not resting diagonally on his knee. As has been mentioned, the representation is characterised by stylistic features which stem from two traditions, indicating a particular eclecticism which we have encountered also in other Cretan icons of the 15th century known as "Italo-Cretan".

The worshipping angels, with their hands covered by their himation, complementing the representation in the top part, derive from the Orthodox Cretan tradition and follow a style of painting recorded in documents in the Venetian archives as *a la greca*; while the rendering of the faces of the two main figures, the Virgin and the Child, may be said to be *a la latina maniera* of the time. Refined features delineated only by the light, in the angels' faces, luminous and diaphanous areas, too, in the modelling, few but marked highlights on the edges of the volumes, thin noses and small delicate lips, bring these charming figures very close to the Palaeologan prototypes. Contrariwise, the modelling in the faces of the Virgin and the Child are rendered in a technique and expression which are very close to those of the late-Gothic prototypes of the 14th and 15th centuries. The lights on the flesh are modelled on a luminous greenish umber with very fine brushstrokes and many tonal gradations, and with soft modulations in thinned sienna which assume a rosy hue on reaching the middle of the cheeks. On the edges of the lighted volumes, a fine luminous mesh adds a further accent of light. The same crimson colour used in describing the eyebrows is also used for the irises, which float in the whites of the eyes.

The strong, low, scimitar-shaped arches of the eyebrows and the way in which the flesh is model-

led give a flawless, "doll-like" look to the faces, which, moreover, are charged with the manneristic sorrowful expression characteristic of Italian painting. All these are incorporated and blended with the other features of the icon, which remain faithful to the familiar style of Orthodox Cretan painting. The harsh geometric drapery in the garments, especially in the maphorion of the Virgin, the manner in which are rendered also the himatia of the angels, with the restless white linear lights on the edges of the dark folds, the greyish-white chiton of the Child, with

the familiar florets of this iconographic type, and his gold-threaded himation with the darker folds, are all clearly derived from the Cretan painting of the 15th century. The reason for the eclecticism which characterises our icon must surely be sought in the especial preference probably expressed by the client for a particular model.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

41. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Paul and Alexandra

Kanellopoulos Museum (no.113)

Dimensions: 0.34 x 0.45 m.

Late 15th century.

Plates 69, 75.



The Virgin is portrayed in half length holding the Child in her arms, in the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa in which the infant Christ rests his hand in that of his mother (see interpretative note on this type). The two faces are here very close. The left hand of the Virgin, which supports the feet of the Christ Child, the loosened sandal, and the draped edges of his himation, all fit amply in the deep curving fold of the Virgin's closed maphorion. The ground is gold and the haloes of both Virgin and Child are punched. The Virgin's maphorion is in red lacquer; deep blue with greyish-white lights is the chiton of the Christ child, his himation in tones of sienna, with gold touches and crimson lines marking the shaded parts, and his pleated sash is red. The underpaint in the shady areas of the flesh is luminous and translucent, painted in thinned, fine-grained sienna, the lighted areas are wheat-coloured, and a rosy blush tints the Virgin's right cheek. The facial features are faintly delineated, the whites of the eyes are very small. These last features lend a delicacy to the faces which is consistent with the Italo-Cretan character of the entire representation.

The above characteristics assign the icon to a late-15th-century Cretan workshop and to one, moreover, that is quite active and prolific in the production of such works, among which we have already presented here the Glykophilousa of the By-

zantine Museum no.T1588 (pl.70), no.T78 of the same Museum (pl.86), and the icon on the same theme in the D. Ekonomopoulos Collection (pl.79). Our icon constitutes the best work in the series, bearing a close resemblance to icon no.T78 of the Byzantine Museum with which it presents an affinity not only in the more delicate rendering of the figures but also in certain particular iconographic elements. In both icons the Child is portrayed in smaller dimensions and with more refined features. The edges of the volumes beneath the right eye of the Virgin, in both icons, are lighted in the same way, and identical, too, are the particular characteristics of the Virgin's hands, with the index finger of the left hand at a distance from the other three fingers.

The execution of the icon of the Kanellopoulos Museum has been carried out with particular care. With its elaborate haloes, fine gilding, and rich and glowing colours, it seems to surpass in quality the identical Glykophilousa of the Byzantine Museum no.T78 (pl.86), which it most probably also precedes in time. We shall, thus, assign our icon, with its overstated sadness in the countenance of the two figures, which distances it from the grave and restrained expression of Ritzos' day and which brings it closer to the Italo-Cretan icons of the late 15th century, to a period later than Andreas Ritzos, but in any case not later than the end of the 15th century.

From the foregoing, and having placed the icon chronologically at a much earlier period than that of the two painters bearing the name of Emmanuel Lambardos¹, it is evident that the signature XEIP EMMANOYHA ΛΑΜΠΑΡΔΟΥ which appears at the bottom of the icon and on the maphorion of the Virgin, is a false one.

Bibliography: Brouskari 1985, p.134.

1. Kazanaki 1981, p.216.

42. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T78)

Dimensions: 0.45 x 0.35 m.

Late 15th century.

Pl.86.



The Virgin is portrayed against a gold ground and in the variant of the Glykophilousa in which the Child's hand is in that of his mother. The icon follows the iconographic type faithfully, as it appears in the icon on the same theme in the Byzantine Museum (T351, pl. 76), which has been considered to be the oldest example of this type. Certain differences it presents in relation to the latter icon, and the simplification of the artistic means which it evidences, indicate a workshop which repeats the same representation often, reproducing it from a larger prototype. This is proven also by the iconographic detail it copies of the deep curve in the drapery of the Virgin's maphorion at the bottom of the painting, in front, in which the Child's feet and his loosened sandal fit amply, without any danger of their overstepping the limits of the frame. This significant detail is reproduced in all the works of the series which are stylistically related to our icon, and which have been assigned to a Cretan workshop with a

prolific output, but cut off from the innovations of a larger centre of production such as the city of Candia. The detail of the deep curve in the maphorion of the Virgin is also present in the icon of the Church of All Saints at Trani, in Apulia,¹ a work which has been attributed to Andreas Ritzos and which, as we have argued, copies an older icon of Angelos². However, the Trani icon also contains new elements, which are not found in our icon nor in the other icons of the same group. This means that the workshop in question ignores the new iconographic devices of Andreas Ritzos - as they appear in the Trani icon - and remains faithful to the older prototype, which it seems to reproduce often.

The new elements added here are limited to the soft late-Gothic lights in the flesh, a very well-known and common feature at the end of the 15th century, where we believe our icon belongs chronologically. In addition to the above, certain particular features, such as the full and fleshy lips of the Virgin, her wider nose and plumper hand, constitute clumsy ancient survivals from older Palaeologan works, to which it would seem quite appropriate for this conservative workshop to return.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. *Mostra* 1864, no. 103, p. 101, ill. 108.

Cattapan 1973, p. 373, pl. ΣΤ' 2 *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, n. 44, pp. 139-140, pl. 44 (Celao)

43. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Byzantine Museum.

Dimensions: 0.56 x 0.422 m.

Late 15th century.

Pl.70.



It would appear that, from an old Cretan prototype, which we have ascribed to Angelos, arises a whole series of icons of the late 15th century, which retain all the iconographic characteristics of the model, differing only in the simpler pictorial means employed, indicating thus a provenance from a good 15th-century workshop, but one perhaps cut off from the artistic atmosphere of an important centre

of icon production, such as the city of Chandax. It is with such a workshop that we are dealing here; one which reproduces the old model knowledgeably and competently, but which does not apparently have the time - or perhaps the capability - to remodel or adapt the representation to new iconographic developments. We find in this group similar works, which seem to have been reproduced speedily in order to satisfy massive demand, but with the assurance, nonetheless, of an experienced workshop, as is indicated by their having retained not only the sober mien of the figures of the original, but also the felicitous reproduction of all its several elements.

Our Glykophilousa presents an affinity also, on certain points, with the similar icon of the D. Ekonomopoulos Collection (pl.79). There, too, the head of the Virgin is not so deeply inclined towards the Child - as is the case in the icon of the same series in the Kanellopoulos Museum (pl.75) - while in both

these icons, Christ, is portrayed as a sturdy and grown child.

Among the best preserved icons of this series is our Glykophilousa, with the Child's hand in that of his mother. It is painted on good quality wood, which has been prepared on the rear side as well, and it retains all the iconographic elements of the Glykophilousa of the Byzantine Museum (no.T351, pl.76), which has been considered to be the oldest example we have of this variant, with iconographic features very close to those of Angelos' Kardiotissa (see introductory note). In addition to the usual gesture of the Christ Child's hand held in his mother's hand, which is characteristic of this type, it retains also the crossed legs of the Child, the loosened sandal, the himation falling below the waist. It also repeats the drapery in the Virgin's maphorion, although rendered more simply, with fewer folds across the bosom and over the right arm.

The simplification, in this repeatedly reproduced representation of the theme is apparent elsewhere as well. The rich garment of the Child, with its wide

pleats on the left arm, which characterises the best examples of the series, here narrows clumsily at the shoulder. The once shining golden-red florets are missing here, and the now unadorned chiton is rendered in a luminous, grey-blue colour, which, however, harmonises beautifully with the bright, luminous also, red of the sash, which is also more simply rendered, without the rich and complex folds of the work it copies. Simplified also is the modelling of the flesh, with large triangular areas defining the lighted parts, which are rendered in a thick rosy colour over a large surface of diaphanous underpaint. The faces of the two figures lack vigour, although still remaining within the atmosphere of Cretan painting. Such elements as the fine lines in the facial features, the correct design, and the gravity and nobility of the countenances, point to a fairly early period of execution, and, in any case, to a date not later than the end of the 15th century.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

44. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Civilisation.

(D. Ekonomopoulos Collection).

Dimensions: 0.402 x 0.24 m.

Second half of the 15th century.

Pl.79.



The Virgin is portrayed on the pattern of the variant of the Glykophilousa with the Child's hand in that of his mother. It is assigned to a Cretan workshop of the end of the 15th century, from which originate also other identical icons belonging to the same group, such as nos. T1588 and T78 of the By-

zantine Museum. It is one of the oldest existing examples of this series, carefully executed, and free of later intervention.

The Virgin is again depicted against a gold ground, in half length and holding the Child on her left arm. She wears her maphorion closed all the way up to the base of the neck, and the representation faithfully reproduces the iconographic variant of the type in all its points: the crossed legs of the Child, the upturned right sole, the loosened sandal.

Characteristic features of the workshop to which

the icon belongs are the size of the Child, his luminous blue chiton - unadorned, here also - and the bright red sash. Pronounced, too, are the triangular shapes on the cheeks of the two figures, and the rosy lights on the wide, light-coloured surfaces of the underpaint. The above features link the icon to no. T1588 of the Byzantine Museum (pl.70), which seems to have been executed during the same period and by the same painter.

Among its distinguishing features are the more meticulous technique, especially in the maphorion of the Virgin, which is rendered in finer-grained and more carefully processed colours, and the punched halo, adorned with a rich and graceful scroll.

The icon, which constitutes one more example of this iconographic type, among those repeatedly produced by this workshop, proves, by the quality of its execution and the fidelity of reproduction of the model, that a workshop, of which we have previously made mention, frequently, and at times very competently, reproduces representations such as that before us. Which means that the iconographic type was a very familiar one and that it probably derived from a local, older, and particularly esteemed prototype, which as we have surmised in other cases, must be connected with Zakynthos.

Bibliography: Baltoyanni 1985, no.19, pl.19.

45. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Civilisation
(D. Ekonomopoulos Collection).

Dimensions: 0.19 x 0.128 m.

Late 15th - early 16th century.

Pl.80.



On a panel with a raised frame and an arched top is depicted the Virgin holding the Child on her left arm. She is turned towards him, her face very close to his, her cheek pressed tenderly against his own. The Christ Child sits on his mother's lap, turning towards her, his feet crossed in child-like fashion. His left hand rests in his mother's right hand, while in his right he holds a closed scroll. The Virgin is clad in a closed maphorion, edged with a gold band, dotted with pearls and trimmed with tassels which

fall below her right shoulder. She wears a deep blue chiton of which only the ends of the sleeves are visible. The Christ Child's chiton is grey-blue, with a red sash and a brick-coloured himation brushed with gold. A punched halo ornamented with a scroll surrounds each of the figures. The modelling has been done in thinned sienna for the underpaint, and warm, wheat-coloured lights with rosy tints on the lighted parts. Fine, parallel white lines of uneven thickness follow the contours of the volumes. The facial features are refined and delicate, delineated only by lights and not otherwise outlined. There is little white in the eyes, the expression of which is lively. The long fingers are articulated in a painterly manner. The nose is thin and long. All the above features, together with the fine-grained colours, the rich varnishing and the elaborate punched haloes attest to the icon's provenance from a good Cretan workshop of the end of the 15th century.

Bibliography: Baltoyianni 1985, no.16, pl.16.

46. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Albania, Berat Museum.

Dimensions: 0.41 x 0.318 m.

Mid-16th century.

Plates 81, 82, 83.



This exceptionally fine icon of the Berat Museum, most probably produced by a northern Greek workshop of the 16th century, constitutes an important example of a work reproducing the Cretan representation of the Glykophilousa with the Christ Child's hand resting in that of his mother.

Painted with glowing colours and a thoroughly competent technique, the icon presents the type with a slight iconographic deviation, which, however, may be significant in imparting a complex meaning to the representation, which now assumes new dimensions: over the right shoulder of the Child appears and flutters the draped end of the Child's himation.

This new iconographic detail, which is novel so far as this particular iconographic type is concerned, also appears in another icon in the series of Cretan icons on the same theme (pl. 84) and in all the icons

of the Glykophilousa with the Christ Anapeson in her arms. The origin of this variant is assuredly Palaeologan, the best-known example being that of the famous mosaic in the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii) in Constantinople, which bears the title "Η Χώρα του Αχωρήτου".¹ The Virgin, there, is portrayed in full length, holding the Child on her right. Her left hand rests on the crossed and bare soles of the Christ Child's feet, and she leans deeply towards him with an expression of profound sorrow. The Child is turned towards her, the closed scroll held in his left hand resting on his knee, his right hand outstretched in an attitude of blessing. Behind his shoulder flutters the draped edge of his himation.

The representation of the Virgin "Η Χώρα του Αχωρήτου" in the Chora Monastery, with her deeply sorrowful expression, the half-reclining Child in her arms - a position which has been related to the semeiology of his future Passion (see introductory note to the section on the Virgin with Christ Anapeson) - his crossed legs, which also refer semantically to the Passion, now also proclaims, with the floating drape of Christ's garment, which emerges from behind his shoulder, his coming Resurrection.

In our icon also, the future sacrifice of the Child is suggested by clear semeiological elements, such as the crossed legs, the loosened sandal, the sorrowful expression in the two faces, and the meaningful gesture of the Christ Child's hand resting in his mother's palm. If the above features are, indeed as

we have attempted to prove, indicative of the Child's future Passion, it is plain that, in the icon of the Berat Museum as in the representation of the Virgin "I Chora tou Achoretou" in the Chora Monastery, the floating himation of Christ consummates the meaning of his sacrifice by proclaiming his future Resurrection.

This interpretation of this significant detail also accords with the words of the newborn Christ himself in the Kontakion by Romanus the Melodist on the Nativity.² There, after he has described to the Virgin in detail his future Passion, he consoles her by announcing his future resurrection. It is also known that the fluttering himation of Christ in the representation of the Descent into Hell constitutes a semeiological element which is determinative in conveying the triumphal character of the scene.

The Berat icon, beyond the new dimension it imparts to the meaning of our Glykophilousa, also displays all the characteristics of a very good work produced by an important workshop. The reproduction of the Cretan representation with such fidelity and such exceptional ability points, we believe, to a painter who is closely familiar with some well-known icon of the type, which he is capable of copying so skilfully that, at first glance, it may be mistaken for a Cretan one. The fact that the workshop to which the Berat icon may be attributed is not Cretan, is revealed by certain particular features which preclude the possibility of a Cretan provenance. Here, again, is faithfully followed the iconographic pattern of the type, which, in general, is that of the Glykophilousa of Trani,³ even including the particular feature of the deep curve formed by the drapery in the lower front part of the Virgin's maphorion, which encloses the feet and loose san-

dal of the Child. The differences observed in the Berat Museum icon mainly concern certain particular stylistic characteristics and the different ethos of the two figures.

The unusually large right hand of the Virgin, the elongated face and the long neck, are found in the figures of post-Byzantine works akin to the paintings of the Kontaris brothers. Easy to read are the feelings expressed in the Virgin's face, which loses the classic gravity of the Cretan icons of the 15th and 16th centuries. This element, which should not be attributed to a more popular treatment of the subject, indicates perhaps a tendency towards a more naturalistic approach, which has passed over into the icon as a result of the artist's probably very close relationship with the more realistic painting characteristic of the workshops of northern Greece and of the post-Byzantine period.

The same elements may be observed in the rendering of the figure of the Child, with the very slender and elongated neck, the naive and childlike expression, lacking the contemplative air, the noble sadness and the deep transcendent gaze, which characterise the series of Cretan icons on the same theme.

From the foregoing, and in view also of the manifest relationship of the work with a workshop contemporary with the period of the Kontaris brothers, we shall assign the icon to a good painter of a northern Greek workshop of the middle of the 16th century, who is thoroughly familiar with important Cretan icons, which he is capable of copying to the extent of reproducing their particular details.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

47. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.51 x 0.405 m.

First half of the 16th century.

Pl. 84.



This is one of the interesting examples of the series which reproduce the variant of the Glykophilousa with the Child's hand resting in that of his mother. The icon contains all the elements of the type, with the slight iconographic variation we have also noticed in the representa-

tion of the Berat Museum (pl. 81). The Virgin is here again portrayed as a Glykophilousa; the Child's attitude and movement are the same. From his shoulder, as in the Berat icon, flutters the edge of his himation. This iconographic addition has given a new semantic dimension to the variant of our Glykophilousa, which is now interpreted as relating to the foreshadowing of the Resurrection of Christ. As has already been pointed out, this iconographic element characterises especially the representation of the Resurrection, in which the floating mantle of Christ assumes a triumphal significance.

The similarity of our icon with that of the Berat Museum also extends to other features, such as the unusual form of the edge of the Christ Child's himation, which cascades in sinuous folds before his feet. This detail, which does not appear in any of the

other icons of the series, but only in that of the Berat Museum, suggests that it was most probably invented by the creator of the prototype, and later reproduced by both the artist who painted the Berat icon and the one who painted ours. We preclude the possibility that the latter might have copied the representation of the Berat icon, since our icon can hardly be said to be inferior in quality. On the contrary, it is characterised by a Cretan ethos, at least so far as the expression of the Virgin is concerned.

48. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T2644).

Dimensions: 0.60 x 0.45 m.

Late 15th-early 16th century.

Pl. 94



Very close, from the iconographic point of view, to the Glykophilousa with the Child's hand resting in that of his mother, the icon of the Byzantine Museum constitutes one more variant of the type.

The Virgin is pictured here in half length, holding the Child on her left arm and with her face very close to his. She wears the same maphorion, closed all the way up to the neck, with the drapery disposed in the same manner. The maphorion is painted in a brownish-red colour. As in all the icons of this type, the Virgin's hand is held in front of her breast.

The iconographic features which differentiate this representation are mainly limited to the portrayal of the Child. Here, too, the Christ Child presses his cheek against that of the Virgin, but without raising his head towards her. He is seated upright; with his right hand he now blesses, while his left hand, holding the closed scroll, is encircled by that of his mother. Also different in this representation is the way the Child is clad: he does not wear the familiar red sash, as is usual in this type, nor does his himation fall about his waist.

The main difference, however, between this variant and the other icons of the series, is perhaps the position of the Child's legs, which are covered by his rich himation but which remain parallel to one another, without crossing, and from which, we do not see the loosened sandal hanging.

Above, on the right and left, are pictured two angels in half length and in an attitude of worship,

We tend to believe that both icons are copies of the same icon, executed at some time during the first half of the 16th century.

Bibliography: Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη 1986, no.132, pp.128-130, pl.132 (Baltoyianni).

their hands covered by their himation.

This position of the Child, with the legs next to one another and covered by his garment, his upper body held upright, his himation covering his right shoulder, and his right hand in the attitude of blessing, reveals certain features borrowed from the iconography of the Virgin Hodegetria. Besides, the right hand held before the breast is one of the standard characteristics of the latter type, even though, here, this same element is applied in a particular fashion and functions in a different way.

The icon also presents a deviation in its stylistic features: the very large and almond-shaped eyes of the Virgin, the large mass of her head covered by the ample head covering, her sturdy neck, and the large Child, with the broad chest and sturdy shoulders, all constitute elements which derive from a Palaeologan artistic tradition surviving in western Macedonia, where we also find the high arches of the eyebrows in the Christ Child's face.

At the same time, in addition to the characteristics just mentioned, the icon, as we have noted, presents a particular kinship with the Cretan variation of the Glykophilousa with the Child's hand in that of his mother's, from which type is derived the monumental character of the representation, the calm and restrained melancholy expressed in the countenances (especially in that of the Virgin), the equally restrained gestures, and also the particular drapery of the garment.

The combination of these two traditions is often found, already since the 14th and 15th centuries in local Dalmatian workshops, where the principles of the old Palaeologan painting, as they were applied there, live on, while at the same time Cretan icons make their appearance in churches and monasteries.

We should note here that the iconographic deviation from the type presented by our icon - in which the hand of the Christ Child is held in the attitude of blessing - is also found in a 15th-century icon of the Virgin, in the same variation, from the Monastery of the Strophades.

Putting all these elements together, and adding the ascertained fact of the provenance of the icon from the Ionian Islands, we conclude that the work is the product of a local Dalmatian workshop, which reproduces a venerated icon of the islands of the Ionian Sea.

Bibliography: Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή

Τέχνη 1986, no.118, pp.119-120, ill.118 (Baltoyianni).

1. Subotić 1971, ill.34, 35, 36.

2. Djurić 1961, pp.46-55.

3. Koutelakis, "Παναγία η Πάντων Χαρά των Στροφάδων, ένα εικονογραφικό παράλληλο της Πάτμου", *Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά* ΙΕ' (in print).

49. The Virgin Glykophilousa

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T71).

Dimensions: 0.41 x 0.33 m.

16th century.

Pl.85.



The iconographic and semantic relationship of the variant of the Virgin Glykophilousa, in which the Child's hand rests in that of his mother, with the Virgin of the Passion as it is given shape by the Cretan painters of the 15th century, is also proven by icon no. T71 of the Byzantine Museum.

It follows the variant of the Glykophilousa but with a particular deviation which, we believe, marks the intermediate stage in the development of the type towards the form of the Virgin of the Passion. The Virgin, holding the Child on her left arm, is still a Glykophilousa, with the two faces very close to one another, but the Christ Child now holds on to his mother's hand with both of his, an element which constitutes one of the principal characteristics of the representation of the Virgin of the Passion, as it appears in exceptionally fine examples of Cretan paintings of the 15th century.

A similar example - related to our icon, but in a more advanced stage of evolution - with the Child's face not yet turned towards the angel bearing the cross of his future Passion, is that of the otherwise fully formulated representation of the Virgin of the Passion in the Kanellopoulos Museum. There, the Virgin is no longer a Glykophilousa, since the Child is now turned towards the viewer, with the result that his face is no longer close to that of his mother. She wears the maphorion open at the front, as is usual in the portrayal of the Virgin of the Passion, and is accompanied by the angels bearing the symbols of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross.

The icon of the Byzantine Museum, on the other

hand, despite the advanced elements it presents - the crossed legs of the Child, his upturned sole with the loose sandal, his himation falling about the waist and his two hands holding on to the hand of his mother - still remains close to the older iconography of the Virgin Glykophilousa, in which the Christ Child's face is close to that of his mother, who is clad in the usual closed maphorion coming all the way up to the base of the neck and who inclines her head deeply towards the Child.

Stylistically, the representation, in spite of later interventions (especially in the faces, where the features have been traced with harsh black outlines, in the drapery of the Virgin's maphorion, and in the gold ground which was clumsily repaired at some time in the past), retains genuine elements of its original painting, which dates it not later than the 16th century.

Among the particular and genuine elements of the work are the dark green, almost black, sleeved chiton of the Christ Child, with the restless harsh white lights, and his bright red himation, lavishly striated with gold. The above characteristics, combined with the traditional brownish-red maphorion of the Virgin, most probably point, in our view, to a local provincial workshop of the Ionian Islands, which copies an older Cretan icon, adding elements of Venetian painting.

The value of this otherwise not particularly important provincial work resides mainly in its iconographic type, which, as is the case with the icon of the Kanellopoulos Museum, reveals the existence of a Cretan prototype representing an intermediary stage of development of the Glykophilousa leading, as we have said, to the type of the Virgin of the Passion.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

50. The Virgin of the Passion

Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine.

Dimensions: 0.36 x 0.26 m.

Beginning of the 15th century.

Plates 87, 88.



The representation of the Virgin of the Passion in this important icon of the Sinai Monastery, is rendered in what is most probably an experimental form, and employing stylistic methods which assign it to a local workshop of the beginning of the 15th century.

The Virgin is portrayed in half length - holding the Child, here, on her right arm - and in a rare version of the Glykophilousa, with her lips touching the hair of the Child, who turns his face slightly towards the left of the picture. Her right hand, which supports the seated Christ Child, also retains the pleated end of his himation. The Child inclines his body slightly and holds on with both his hands to the left hand of the Virgin, which is held before his breast. He wears a sleeved chiton, with a wide pleated sash encircling the waist, and a himation which only covers his right shoulder. His legs and bent knees are close together and covered by his himation. He is a big and sturdy child, with an elongated oval face which expresses intense anxiety and fear. In the lower margin of the icon is inscribed the second part of the text usually accompanying the type:

CAPKA ΘNHTYN X(PICTO)C ENΔEΔHMENOC ΠOTMON ΔEΔEIKΩC TAYTA BA... (*And Christ, clothed in mortal flesh, seeing the signs of death, was afraid*).

Among the particular features of the representation, which perhaps indicate an early stage of development of the iconographic type - as compared to the fully defined formulation of the Virgin of the Passion of the Cretan icons - we note the position of the Child on the right arm of his mother, the still slight turn of his head towards the angel (shown here with the spear and the sponge), the lips of the Virgin touching her child's hair, her hand holding the edge of his himation, the uncrossed legs of the Child.

The representation as a whole is rendered in the ancient mood, with elements of the iconography and tradition of the Palaeologan style of painting. Also derived from Palaeologan painting seems to be the strong right hand of the Virgin, which supports the Christ Child and simultaneously grasps the edge of his fallen himation. This last feature, an old

Byzantine element which is already present in the mosaic representation of the Hodegetria at Hosios Loukas,¹ survives in a series of Palaeologan icons of the Virgin Glykophilousa. Among the interesting examples are the important 14th-century icon of the Glykophilousa in the Pushkin Museum,² where Christ is represented in the Anapeson position, as well as all the representations following the Macedonian iconography of the Pelagonitissa.³ Among the icons in which the iconographic type of the Pelagonitissa is most beautifully applied are that of Decani⁴ and the Sinai icon on the same theme.⁵ Also connected with Palaeologan painting is the manner in which the two faces are rendered - especially that of the Christ Child, with its long oval shape.

The above features, which markedly characterise our icon, were responsible for its having been ascribed to a Constantinopolitan workshop and having been dated to the end of the 13th century.⁶ Certain particular characteristics of the work, however, which seem to be derived from other periods and other traditions, point, in our view, to a local workshop and to a later date of execution, around the beginning of the 15th century.

Among the features arguing in favour of a later dating is the triangular opening of the Virgin's maphorion below the neck, in front, which is characteristic of the Cretan representations of the Virgin and Child of the 15th century. Among the oldest examples of the iconographic application of this feature is the icon of the Hodegetria, in the Kapsa Monastery of Crete,⁷ which has been dated to the first half of the 15th century, and the 'Amolyntos' of the Toplou Monastery.⁸ Both these Cretan icons show the narrow gold band adorning the neckline of the Virgin's chiton, and especially the elaborate knot, which is drawn in the same shape in all three icons. Also, the maphorion of the Virgin, in all three, is in a purple colour, and the drapery still soft and flowing. Our icon presents a particular affinity with that of the Kapsa Monastery, in the way the flesh on the face is rendered - with free and painterly lights, similar in form and in extent, highlighting the volumes.

In spite of the similarities the Mount Sinai icon presents with the Cretan icons of the 15th century, it seems to differ from them stylistically. The anti-classical expression and portrayal of the two angels displaying the symbols of the future Passion do not seem to have any particular connection with the nobler and more academically rendered countenances of the angels in the aforementioned Cretan icons, in which the Child also is treated in a more classical manner. A certain iconographic hesitancy and awkwardness is also evident in the depiction of the angels, with the archangel Michael, towards whom the Child turns his face, on the left hand side of the pic-

ture. This element lends a certain incongruity to the representation, since the Christ Child seems to be frightened, now, by the sight of the spear and sponge, and not by the Cross held by Gabriel on the right and which constitutes the main symbol of his future sacrifice. Also characteristic of the humbler - and certainly not Constantinopolitan - origin of the work, is the clumsy manner in which is rendered the left hand of the Virgin, which is depicted large and expressionless, and with no articulations in the stubby fingers (pl. 88).

Finally, other observations and suppositions lead us to attribute the work more specifically to a local workshop, and most probably a Sinaitic one. The iconographic invention of our icon, that of the Virgin's lips touching the Child's hair, characterises the iconographic type of the Virgin of Kykkos and is not represented in any other type. The presence of this feature here, which - so far as we are in a position to know - constitutes a unique example, indicates an experimental application of the element, which the painter seems to have borrowed from some icon with which he is very familiar. As we know, at the Sinai monastery, where our icon is kept, there is a particularly revered icon of the Virgin Glykophilousa, which follows the iconographic type of the Kykkotissa.⁹ Furthermore, the detail of the right hand of the Virgin holding the edge of the Child's himation also appears, as has already been mentioned, in the very fine icon of the Pelagonitissa, in the same monastery.

The hypothesis that the icon of the Virgin of the Passion may have been executed in a Sinai workshop is strengthened by the text inscribed in red letters on the gold margin at the bottom of the paint-

ing, an element which often characterises icons of the Monastery.

Also arguing in favour of the attribution of the icon to the above workshop is the close link it has been proved to have with the early style of Cretan painting, representative works of which are to be found among the superb icons that adorn the Monastery and its chapels.

Finally, the non-repetition of the iconographic type signifies that this particular form was introduced by a workshop with a limited sphere of influence, not well enough known to impose the new type.

Bibliography: M. Sotiriou 1971, pp.29-42.

1. Diez, Demus 1931, ill.21.
2. Lazarev 1967, pp.368-369, pl.497.
3. Regarding the icons of the Pelagonitissa see Beljaev 1930, pp.386-392. Hadermann-Misguich 1983, pp.9-16.
4. Grabar 1975b, pp.25-30, ill.2.
5. G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.235; 1958, no.235, pp.205-206. Mouriki 1990, p.124, pl.74.
6. G. and M. Sotiriou op.cit.
7. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, pp.502-503, no.147, pl.147 (Borboudakis).
8. Op.cit., pp.495-496, no.139, pl.130 (Borboudakis).
9. G. and M. Sotiriou op.cit., pls.54-56; no.54, pp.73-75. Mouriki op.cit., p.105, pl.19.

51. The Virgin of the Passion Η ΑΜΟΛΥΝΤΟC

Collection of ex-Queen Frederica.

Dimensions: 0.935 x 0.735 m.

15th century.

Pls.89,90,91.



The Virgin of the Passion is portrayed in this icon according to a rare iconographic type, which deviates to a considerable degree from the established 15th-century Cretan form of the representation.

Here, the Virgin holds the Christ Child on her right, with her left hand

under his bent, bare legs, and places her right hand, with the long, tapering fingers, articulated in a painterly way and with the index finger apart from the rest, protectively on his right shoulder. The Child nestles in his mother's bosom and turns his face towards the archangel Gabriel - shown very close to him, here - who presents the principal symbols of the Passion: the large cross of Christ's future sacrifice and the crown of his mocking. Fearfully, the Child stretches out both his hands, seeking to cling to his mother's garment, while still holding in his right hand his tightly-rolled scroll. On a higher level above the left shoulder of the Virgin is portrayed the archangel Michael, holding the spear, the sponge and the basin of vinegar. On the right side of the Virgin's halo is inscribed the epithet Η ΑΜΟΛΥΝΤΟC.

Not lacking from the representation is the in-

scription which so often, since the middle of the 15th century, accompanies the Cretan Virgin of the Passion and which refers to the angel Gabriel:

Ο ΤΟ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΡΙΝ ΤΗ ΠΑΝΑΓΝΩ ΜΗΝΥCΑC
ΤΑ CΥΜΒΟΛΑ ΝΥΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΘΟΥC ΠΡΟΔΕΙΚΝΥΕΙ
ΧΡΙCΤΟC ΔΕ ΘΝΗΤΗΝ CΑΡΚΑ ΕΝΔΕΔΥΜΕΝΟC
ΠΟΤΜΟΝ ΔΕΔΟΙΚΩC ΔΕΙΛΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΒΛΕΠΩΝ.

Among the particular iconographic features of the representation is included the detail of the maphorion of the Virgin covering the back of the Child.

All the above features which make up this rare iconographic type of the Virgin of the Passion are nonetheless found in Palaeologan representations of the same theme, with the Virgin still in a standing position, and the symbols of the future sacrifice of the Child all in the hands of the Archangel Gabriel, which justifies his being the one to be referred to in the inscription. Among the few known examples of the Palaeologan Virgin of the Passion, the fresco of the Latomou monastery,¹ dating from the beginning of the 14th century, and the similar representation at Conce of former Yugoslavia,² present the Virgin of the Passion with features which characterise as much our icon as the familiar iconographic type of the Presentation of the 14th century. In the mural paintings of the Latomou Monastery and of Conce, the Child is seated on both his mother's arms and turns his head in terror towards the angel Gabriel – who, as in our icon, is shown very close to the Child – while stretching out his hands towards the maphorion of his mother in an attempt to grasp it. The Virgin bends her head towards him and covers him with her garment.³

This iconographic type is not haphazardly chosen and, as we have argued here (see interpretative note on the Virgin and the Child with the bare leg), derives from the iconography of the Presentation, as it has been depicted at the Monastery of the Protaton⁴ of Mt. Athos, the church of Christ at Verria,⁵ the repainted representation at the Chilandari Monastery⁶ and in the Presentation of the church of Aghios Nikolaos Orfanos, in Thessalonike.⁷

In this iconographic type of the Presentation, the Christ Child is shown in the arms of the Virgin, with his knees bent and his arms stretched out towards his mother. He turns his head, with the same expression of fear on his face, towards the aged Simeon. His legs, which constitute an element of the same semeiology of the Passion, are bare. Furthermore, except for the Presentation of the Protaton, where the Child's face is still far from that of his mother, in all the other representations, the figure of the Virgin takes on the character of the Virgin of the Passion, with the faces of both figures – the Mother and the Child – very close to one another.

The above connection between the two iconographic forms, namely that of the Palaeologan Presentation and that of the Virgin of the Passion, as it is depicted in Palaeologan, also, representations related to our icon prove, in our view, that the creation of this particular type derives from the Presentation. This obvious dependence of our representation on the iconography of the Presentation leads to its assignment to a still experimental stage in the formation of the iconographic type of the Virgin of the Passion. This view is reinforced by the fact that this unusual type, in spite of its finished and fully constituted form, was never finally adopted and established, since this representation remains a rare and – so far – a unique one. This probably means that it antedates, or at least is contemporaneous with, the Virgin of the Passion as it was formulated and established by the Cretan painter of the second half of the 15th century, Andreas Ritzos.

A further argument in support of this view is provided by the stylistic characteristics of the work, which still remains very close to the Palaeologan prototypes, in the form which they assumed in early Cretan icon painting.

Of the features pointing to the dating of the icon to the first half of the 15th century, we shall chiefly mention the sturdy Child, the painterly rendering of his hands, the Palaeologan physiognomy of the angels, the diaphanous underpaint in the shaded parts of the faces, the very long and slender fingers of the Virgin, her full lips, the vivid expression of her eyes (with just a very little white on the edges of the irises), and the deep folds along the edge of her head covering.

Bibliography: *Βυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1964, no.220, pp.222-223, pl.220 (Vokotopoulos).

1. Tsigaridas 1986, pl.3.

2. Mirković 1936, pl.65.

3. The same iconographic type as that in our icon, with the Child shown with his bare legs resting on the Virgin's left arm, is also found in the fresco of the Virgin of the Passion, in the "Koubelidiki" church of Kastoria, which is dated to 1495 – a period, however, in which the Cretan iconographic type of the Virgin of the Passion had already prevailed in the painting of such icons.

4. Millet 1927, pl.10.3.

5. Pelekanidis 1973, p.29, pl.17, coloured pl. Δ'

6. Millet op.cit., pl.66.2.

7. Tsitouridou 1986, p.89, pl.21.

52. The Virgin of the Passion

Zakynthos Museum.

Dimensions: 1.32 x 0.84 m.

Beginning of the 16th century.

Pls. 92, 93a-b.



The Virgin of the Passion is portrayed here according to the familiar iconographic type created by the Cretan painters of the 15th century.¹ She is pictured in half length, holding the Child, and clad - as is usual for this type - in a purple maphorion, crossed and draped in front in such a way as to leave a triangular opening through which can be seen part of her deep-blue chiton. It is bordered by a plain trimming of four superposed strips of gold braid. Gold, also, are the cuffs of her chiton, and the thick fringe hanging below her shoulder. She inclines her head toward the Child and directs her gaze beyond the viewer.

The Christ Child is seated comfortably on the left arm of the Virgin, his upper body leaning forward, his crossed legs - from which dangles the loosened sandal - stretched out towards the left, both his hands holding on to that of his mother. His head is turned back, towards the right, where the archangel Gabriel is pictured holding the Cross of Christ's future sacrifice in his hands, which are covered by his himation. The spear, the sponge and the nails are borne by the archangel Michael, who appears on the left. On the gold ground can be made out traces of the inscription which usually accompanies the representation and which links the message of the Annunciation to the prophecy of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross:

O TO XAIPE IPIN [... MHNYCAC [...]

The Coronation of the Virgin, on the upper part of the painting - with the two full-length angels on clouds - constitutes a novel feature. Novel, too, is the feature of the representation of the three scenes from the life of the Virgin, which are depicted in rectangular compartments on the bottom part of the icon. These later supplementary representations were painted on panels which were added on to all four sides of the main panel, the top panel being the widest and measuring 0.195 m. The width of the bottom panel, on which were painted the scenes of the life of the Virgin, measures 0.14 m., while the side panels measure 0.055 m. The dimensions, therefore, of the original icon on the theme of the Virgin of the Passion, if we subtract those of the added panels, are actually 0.985 x 0.73 m.

From the iconographic point of view, the representation of the original icon - as has already been said - faithfully follows the type appearing on a series of icons of the 15th century, either signed by, or attributed to, Andreas Ritzos.²

Stylistically, the representation - with the nobility and gravity of mien of the figures, the expression of restrained grief in the face of the Virgin, and the meditative countenance of the Child - is rendered with the resources of a Cretan workshop dependent on the painting of Andreas Ritzos and with elements indicative, at the same time, of the evolution of this style of painting at the beginning of the 16th century.

The Virgin, a delicate figure, with a tall, slender neck, a delicate face and a slightly-built body, is far removed from the solid, and broadly based half-length Virgin of the Passion, as she is portrayed in the known, signed icons of Andreas Ritzos. She is clad - as has been said - in the dark maphorion, usual in this iconographic type, with the same undulating border of the head covering which falls in shallower and simpler folds, now distanced from the complex and deep undulations of the same feature in similar representations by Andreas Ritzos. Equally weak is the portrayal of the Child, with his narrow shoulders, the simpler and more restrained treatment of the folds of the garments, the delicate face and the unsure drawing of the curls in the hair.

However, where our icon differs most from those of Andreas Ritzos representing the same theme is in the use and quality of the colours. The warm sienna in the underpaint, the meticulously elaborated colour used by Ritzos in his modelling of the flesh, has been substituted here by a dark umber in a thick-grained, carelessly elaborated pigment, resulting in the opaque olive green of the shaded parts (especially in the faces). Equally opaque are the wheat-coloured lighted areas, which, lacking the subtle gradations of tone, from dark to light, now assume a sharp triangular shape.

In spite of the above, the representation remains close to the atmosphere of the works of Andreas Ritzos, as is proved by such features as the large black irises which fill the whites of the almond-shaped eyes of the Virgin, by her small, full mouth, and by her still vivacious gaze - all of which constitute standard elements of the paintings of the renowned Cretan artists. Deriving from the same source are also details such as the shape of the folds in the part of the deep blue chiton of the Virgin which shows through the triangular opening of her maphorion, and which the painter of our icon reproduces without any deviation. Faithfully reproduced, as well, are the shapes of the gold brush-strokes which lighten the cuffs, and rendered in a similar fashion

are the parallel geometric folds of the maphorion, on the right shoulder. Present, too, are the comb-like shapes in the wide drapery below the shoulder.

The great fidelity in the reproduction of iconographic and stylistic elements from similar representations by Andreas Ritzos, combined with other characteristics indicative of a later period and of a less qualified workshop, points, we believe, to a Cretan painter of the beginning of the 16th century, dependent on the art of Ritzos, whose cartoons he uses to reproduce the Virgin of the Passion.

Other indications also argue in favour of the dating of the Zakynthos Museum icon to the first quarter of the 16th century.

We know that the icon belongs to the iconostasis of the church of the Pantocrator, in Zakynthos. This iconostasis, dating from the 17th century and now restored, is exhibited in the Museum of Zakynthos. The icon constituted the representation of the Virgin in the group of four icons flanking the central doors of the *bema*, the other three being those of Christ as High Priest, the Transfiguration and St. John the Baptist, all three signed by the 17th-century Cretan painter, Victor.³

The church of the Pantocrator in Zakynthos was built in 1517, according to a now lost document in the archives of the Latin church, studied by Zois.⁵ According to the writer who drew up the document, "the Latin Bishop of Cephalonia and Zakynthos, Marco de Franceschi" cedes a site in order that may be built in the town of Zakynthos, by noble citizens, a church of Christ Pantocrator, and a poorhouse, on condition that a Catholic church also be built. Executors of the erection of the church were the Orthodox Metropolitan of Zakynthos and hegumen, at the time, of the Monastery of the Strophades, two priests, and - among the noble citizens - the "magnificent" Demetrios Megadoukas.

The founding of the church in 1517 is confirmed by a second document, drawn up by the notary, Theodore Avlonitis (1522-1526), according to which⁶ the donors built "the holy and sacred church of the Pantocrator from its foundations in the year 1517, on the first day of the month of August". Also interesting is a statement contained in the same document, in which the donors declare that they took refuge on Zakynthos "driven out of their (own) country by the nation of the Agarenes (Turks)", who had brought suffering to Zakynthos as well.

However, the iconostasis displayed today in the Museum of Zakynthos, and its icons - as much the three signed by Victor as those of the Dodekaorton - are dated to the third quarter of the 17th century and are certainly not related to the foundation of the church, in 1517. Only the icon of the Virgin of the Passion, as its stylistic and other characteristics indi-

cate, has been dated to the first quarter of the 16th century, and it does not belong to the iconostasis, as is evidenced also by its original dimensions (0.985 x 0.73 m.), which were increased to 1.32 x 0.84 m. after the addition of the extra panels onto its four sides. This probably means that the icon comes from an older iconostasis of the same or of another church, and that it was later altered in order to be used on the 17th-century screen.

Bearing in mind, now, the fact that, among the noble donors of the Pantocrator, was also the "magnificent" Demetrios Megadoukas, we go on to make certain suppositions and correlations of elements, which might perhaps shed further light on the problem of the provenance and dating of the work.

The icon, on the bottom part and on the left and right of the Virgin's maphorion, presents two heraldic emblems, the genuineness of which has never been seriously questioned. The *scudo veneto* painted on the left with a gold outline, bears a gold sun, with alternating plain and zigzag rays, on a black ground, while the emblem on the right is a monogram in heraldic form, also painted on a *scudo veneto* outlined in gold.

Of the group of letters making up the monogram, we can make out the Γ, the Α, the Δ and - possibly - the Κ and the Μ. The combination of letters, all of which are contained in the name of Demetrios Megadoukas does not rule out the possibility of their spelling the name of the most important, perhaps, of the noblemen of the confraternity who undertook to execute the building of the church of the Pantocrator.

Supporting this view is also the emblem on the escutcheon on the left side of the painting, which may be identified with the sun of the Lascaris family,⁷ since, the name of Lascaris was borne also by the Megadoukas family.⁸ Moreover, the letters of the monogram of our icon, form a clearly marked cross in the centre, which probably refers to the confraternity to which the noble donors of the Pantocrator church belonged.

If the above identification is correct and our icon is thus related to Demetrios Megadoukas, it is easy for us to connect its date of execution to the year 1517 - date of the building of the church of the Pantocrator - and to identify the work as being the icon representing the Virgin on the original sanctuary screen, and which was later altered and enlarged by the addition of supplementary panels on its four sides to be used on the later iconostasis of the 17th century.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. See the introductory note to the "Variant of

the Virgin Glykophilousa - Virgin of the Passion" with bibliography.

2. The stylistic features of the representations on the added panels point to a Cretan workshop of the 17th century, very close to the style of painting of Leo Moskos, whose contested signature appears on the bottom right hand side of the icon.

3. Icon of the Virgin of the Passion in Ston, in Dalmatia (Djurić 1961, no.51, pl.L XXI). The well-known icon of the Bandini Museum, at Fiesole, today in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (Cattapan 1973, p.267, pl.A I, N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.6, p.42-44, where also a coloured plate).

4. On the painter Victor, see Xyngopoulos 1957, pp.212-216. Chatzidakis 1987, pp.192-201.

5. L. Zoīs, *Elpis* newspaper, year ΛΓ' (Zakynthos, Aug.5, 1907), no.1661, pp.2-3. Konomos 1964, p.75.

6. Zoīs, "Ἐγγράφα του ΙΣΤ' αιώνος εκ του αρχείου Ζακύνθου" BZ 13 (1937), pp.17-18.

7. Information communicated verbally by Mr. John Typaldos-Lascaratos, whom I warmly thank.

8. Pentogalos 1975, pp.203-217.

53. The Virgin of the Passion

Rome. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.655 x 0.525 m.

Late 16th century.

Pls.95, 96.



The representation follows the iconographic type of the Virgin of the Passion as it was formulated by the Cretan workshops of the 17th century. The Virgin is portrayed in half length with the Child sitting on her left arm. She inclines her head towards him and directs her gaze away from

the viewer.

The Christ Child is seated comfortably on her curved palm, his upper body leans forward, and his face is turned towards the archangel Gabriel, who holds the large Cross in his covered hands, and who is pictured on the right side of the icon opposite the archangel Michael, who bears the spear and sponge, symbols of the future Passion of Christ. The Child's legs are crossed, the sole of his right foot, from which hangs the loosened sandal, is turned up. He wears a white sleeved chiton, ornamented with sparse florets, and a himation thickly brushed with gold. The entire representation is set against a distant landscape, with low, sloping foothills and tall

houses and towers, tall cypresses and other trees covered with a dense or thin foliage.

Iconographically, the representation follows the Cretan type of the Virgin of the Passion faithfully. The type took shape during the 15th century,¹ and survived without any changes until the 17th century, producing important works by renowned Cretan workshops of the period, such as those of Victor² and of Tzanes.³ The iconographic differences which may be observed in comparing the established Cretan pattern with our icon, mainly concern the presence here of the picturesque landscape in the background, which constitutes the only application, to date, of such a feature to the theme of the Virgin of the Passion.⁴

The use of a natural country landscape in the painting of an icon - having been preceded as we know by certain parallel tendencies in Byzantine and Palaeologan painting⁵ - is attempted mainly by Cretan workshops of the 15th century, and is applied in particular to themes of a narrative character, such as the Nativity,⁶ the meeting of Christ and the Woman of Samaria,⁷ as well as in a series of icons on the dormition of holy men and women.⁸

Rarely do we find landscapes used in representations of solitary figures of a hieratic and monumental character, and only in a few examples of Cretan icons of the 16th century. The landscape depicted here seems to have been borrowed from Venetian painting, and particularly from that of the 15th century.

Among the most indicative examples including landscapes are the representations of saints in the *predella* of Komolac in Dubrovnik,⁹ painted by Angelos Pitzamanos in 1518, in which distant landscapes form the background behind the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome, whose way of life actually called for their portrayal in a desert setting.

Among the rare examples of single figures set in a landscape - showing the influence of Venetian painting - are the two 16th-century icons of the Byzantine Museum representing respectively St. George (T380)¹⁰ and St. Demetrius (Σ20720/14),¹¹ who are depicted standing in a natural landscape, holding their decollated heads. Here, too, the figures are set against low hills, a lake, castles and tall, sparsely-leafed trees. We also find a representation of St. Nicholas in half length, portrayed against a landscape, in an icon in the Ekonomopoulos collection attributed to a Dalmatian workshop.¹²

To a Dalmatian workshop of the 16th century we shall also assign our icon, with its advanced depiction of a natural landscape, reminiscent of similar choices of the Pitzamanos brothers, Angelos and Donatos, who, as has already been mentioned, worked for Dalmatian clients. Among the features that lead us to place our icon in a kindred environment, particularly interesting, here, is the use of a landscape behind the monumental representation of the Virgin of the Passion. This indicates, at the very least, a provenance from a workshop in close proximity to Venice, in the painting of which, already since the 15th century, the Virgin and Child were often depicted against a natural background.¹³

In keeping with the above are also the stylistic characteristics of the work. Among the most indicative, we shall point out the portrayal of the two angels with the symbols of the Passion, who bear no relation to the conventional form already established in Cretan painting, since the 15th century. The rich, wavy locks of the angel on the right hand side of our icon, which fall in rich undulations behind his neck, his elongated face, his lively and direct gaze, the long nose, the bulk of the figure, the soft drapery of his himation, and the more natural treatment of the wings, refer us to the Palaeologan painting of Macedonia, with which, as we know, the Dalmatian workshops were very familiar.

Similar characteristics are encountered in the angel on the left hand side of the painting, whose facial and other features derive also from Palaeologan painting, as does the bulk of the figure.

Of the other particular features of our icon, which has suffered considerably from a too thorough cleaning and partial restorations and additions, we shall point out the intense white colour of the Child's chiton,¹⁴ which departs from the di-

aphanous grey-blue of Cretan painting, the brownish-red colour of the Virgin's maphorion with the lighted areas rendered in pale pink, which is unrelated to the Cretan lacquer red, as well as the plainer design in the punched haloes of the two figures. Foreign to the style of Cretan painting is also the dark green underpaint in the modelling of the flesh, as are also the markedly schematised planes in the lighted areas of the faces, especially in that of the Virgin.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Chatzidakis 1974a, pp.180-181. On the meaning, the origin and development of the iconographic type, see Likhachev 1911. Wulff, Alpatoff 1925, p. 230. Xyngopoulos 1936, pp.71-72. G. Sotiriou 1953/1954, pp.87-91. Radojčić 1956, p.76. Chatzidakis 1962, p.9. Pallas 1965, pp.174-175. M. Sotiriou 1971, xθ-μθ.

2. Van Rijn 1980, pl. on p.101.

3. See the similar icon of the Virgin of the Passion in Zakynthos, signed by Emmanuel Tzanes (Konon 1964, ill. On p.22). See also the icon on the same theme in Chora, Tinos, signed by the same artist (Drandakis 1974, p.45, ill.4).

4. A rocky landscape is depicted in an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, formerly in the Gonia Monastery of Santorini (see Georgopoulou-Verra 1975, pl.240).

5. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.191.

6. See the icon of the Nativity of the 15th century in the Byzantine Museum (*Εκθεση για τα εκατό χρόνια της ΧΑΕ* 1985, no.13, pp.26-27, pl.13 [Baltoyianni]).

7. Chatzidakis op.cit., pl. AB'1.

8. Chatzidakis op.cit., p.190, pls. KB'1,2; KF'1, 2; KA' KE'.

9. Djurić 1961, no.53, pl.L XXII. Babić, Chatzidakis 1983, pl. on p.326.

10. Walter 1992, p.701, pl.380.

11. Unpublished.

12. Baltoyianni 1985, no.43, pl.40.

13. See among others Mariacher 1957, no.2193, p.176; no.235, pp.177-178; no.216, p.185; no.322, p.195.

14. The white colour of the Child's chiton is probably related here, also, to the white of the Byzantines, indicative of mourning (see Artemidorus' *Ονειροκριτικά*, 2.3: "the wearing of white garments portends death").

54. The Virgin Paramythia

Section of a fresco on an icon stand.

Mt. Athos, Vatopedi Monastery.

End of the 16th - beginning of the 17th century.

Pls. 97, 98.



The icon is part of a fresco that has been transferred to an icon stand. It portrays the Virgin in half length, holding the Child in her arms and – in a rare iconographic representation – bringing his hand to her lips. The icon has been covered with a silver sheathing, dating to 1859; the inscription on it gives us not only the date but also the epithet of the Virgin, "Paramythia". The inscription on the triangular foliate frame on the bottom part of the icon reads as follows:

*"Το ιερόν ένδυμα της σεβασμίας και θαυματουργού αγίας ταύτης εικόνας της παραμυθίας εγένετο εν Ιασίω της Μολδαυίας δια του αρχιμανδρίτου Διονυσίου Βατοπεδινού εν έτει σωτηρίω 1959 εις μνημόσυνον των συνδρομησάντων δούλων του Θεού Νικολάου, Πουλχερίας, Γρηγορίου, Μιχαήλ, Άννης, Θεοδώρου, Γεωργίου, Δημητρίου, Κασσάνδρας, Βασιλείου, Θεοδώρας, Ιωάννου, Ροξάνδρας, Γρηγορίου, Ιωάννου, Άννης, Αικατερίνης, Γαβριήλ, Στεφάνου, Ιωάννου και παντός του γένους αυτών".*¹

("The holy covering of this venerable and miraculous icon of the Paramythia was executed in Jassy, Moldavia, through (the care of) archimandrite Dionysius of Vatopedi, in the year of our Lord 1859, in memory of the contributing servants of God, Nicholas, Pulcheria, Gregory, Michael, Anna, Theodore, George, Demetrius, Cassandra, Basil, Theodora, John, Roxandra, Gregory, John, Anna, Catherine, Gabriel, Stephen, John, and all their kin.")

The Christ Child is seated on his mother's left arm, which emerges from the free sleeve of her maphorion. In spite of the awkward rendering of this feature in the silver sheathing, it is apparent that an effort has been made to reproduce faithfully the familiar iconographic detail of the invisible underlying painting, in which the Virgin's hand also holds on to the Child's himation, seen between her fingers. The Child holds a closed scroll horizontally on his knee and turns his face and his upper body towards his mother. The Virgin holds the Child's outstretched right hand by the wrist with her right hand and raises it to her lips. She inclines her body slightly towards her right and her gaze is directed

away, beyond the viewer.

The representation – a fairly rare one – has been encountered in an icon on the same theme belonging to the Monastery of St. Chrysostom, in Cyprus,² and also in the Virgin that used to be in the Monastery of the Chrysaliniotissa and is now in the Phaneromeni Monastery of Nicosia.³ Both icons have recently been dated to the 12th century. In both, the Virgin is portrayed in half length, carrying the Child on her left arm and bringing his right hand to her lips.

It is worth noting that the representation, besides those in the Cyprian icons and in the Virgin Paramythia of Vatopedi, is also found in a fresco of the 13th century, decorating the apse of the sanctuary of the side chapel of St. Catherine, in the church of Our Lady in Montmorillon.⁴ There, the Virgin – in a mandorla – is seated on a backless throne, with the Child on her right arm. The Child almost seems suspended in mid-air above her lap. He is clad in a short chiton, which leaves his hanging legs bare, and an himation that covers his left shoulder, is girdled at the waist and leaves the bottom part of his thighs uncovered. His left hand is in that of the Virgin, who brings it to her lips. He is shown in *contrapposto*, his legs directed towards the right, his upper body slightly turned towards the left, where St. Catherine is portrayed standing and turned towards the Virgin and the Child who, with his outstretched right hand, touches the crown of the saint.

The representation of Montmorillon, besides the puzzling problems posed by the interpretation of its meaning,⁵ has also raised questions concerning the provenance and creation of the iconographic type, which was initially thought to be of Western origin.⁶ However, immediately after the publication by Kondakoff of the Virgin Paramythia of the Vatopedi Monastery,⁸ serious doubt was cast on the Western provenance of the type, and efforts made to discover its Byzantine prototype.⁹

The connection of the Montmorillon representation with a Byzantine prototype now appears more likely, since the Byzantine icon of the Chrysaliniotissa of Cyprus, in which the iconographic type is already formulated, could be dated, on the basis of its stylistic characteristics, to an earlier period than that of the Montmorillon fresco, and certainly not later than the end of the 12th century.

Moreover, the connection of Cyprus with the French mural painting of Montmorillon seems entirely natural since, as we know, the island at this time (1192) had been ceded, at a price, to the French Lusignans.

Returning to the icon of the Vatopedi Monastery, we must point out that the information we have concerning the original position of the representa-

tion in the general iconographic plan of the Monastery's mural decoration seems to support conflicting opinions. The element that causes confusion requires more specialised research. According to Millet, Pargoire and Petit,⁹ the fresco comes from a chapel whose murals were executed in 1678, a date which, as we know, coincides with that of the mural decoration of the chapel of the Virgin Paramythia, which is built above the chapel of St. Demetrius, in the esonarthex of the katholikon of the monastery. The information is repeated by Millet,¹⁰ who includes the representation among the frescoes of Vatopedi, with the indication that the Virgin Paramythia comes from a chapel of the same name, which constitutes a part of the Monastery. On the other hand, according to oral tradition, the fresco has been detached from the exonarthex of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Katholikon, where at one time it had been instrumental in saving the Monastery from a pirate attack.¹¹ According to the same story, the Virgin of the icon, in spite of Christ's objections, warned the monks of the impending peril and urged them to hasten to the walls and confront the pirates who, as the monks later discovered, had already surrounded the Monastery.

Regardless of the scraps of information which may provide clues as to the provenance of the work, and in spite of the difficulty encountered at first glance in placing the representation within the decorative scheme of the Vatopedi Monastery, we believe that the weight of the plaster on the back of the mural precludes its having been transported from any considerable distance.

From the chronological point of view, the icon presents elements of painting – probably covered over now – from a repainting of the work by a Macedonian workshop of the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. The indications emerging from a careful examination of the various elements of the work concern as much the particular stylistic characteristics retained by the overpainting, as certain iconographic details that do not survive in post-Byzantine painting.¹²

Of the characteristics which are consistent with the post-Byzantine painting of the northern Greek workshops, we note here the dark-coloured underpaint, the large wheat-coloured lights on the cheeks, the deep curves under the outlines of the eyes, the conventionally contemplative gaze and the rugged facial features, which we often find, at this time, in the painting of northern Greek icons.

Among the most representative examples of this anti-classical – as it has been termed – tendency of the post-Byzantine Macedonian workshops, are a series of icons, some of which copy familiar representations from Palaeologan frescoes in the decora-

tive schemes of the Monasteries of Mt. Athos,¹³ or constitute newer layers of repainting on Byzantine icons, the iconography of which is faithfully copied.¹⁴

Among the latter, of particular interest is the icon of the Virgin Glykophilousa T137 of the Byzantine Museum¹⁵ which, as laboratory tests have proved, covered a Byzantine representation of the 12th century, which it copied with the use of an inverted cartoon. Icon T137 of the Byzantine Museum comes from Thessalonike and constitutes one of the oldest examples of a rare iconographic type of the Virgin Glykophilousa, very close to the Cyprian Kykkotissa.

The mural representation of the Virgin Paramythia of the Vatopedi Monastery, which presents many common features with the later layer of the Glykophilousa of the Byzantine Museum, may constitute a similar case. In spite of the different kinds of painting to which they respectively belong, and their different iconography, the two representations coincide as regards all the stylistic traits that characterise each of them. We find in both icons the same large eyes with the deep curves in the lower outlines, the same rugged facial features, the same double curved lines defining the eyelids, and also the same case of a faithful reproduction of an older prototype – and what is more, a Cyprian one.

The last piece of evidence is proved not only by the faithful repetition of the iconographic type of the Glykophilousa from the Chrysaliniotissa of Nicosia, dated to the 12th century, but also by the particular detail of the edge of the Christ Child's himation between the fingers of the Virgin's left hand, a detail that also characterises the Glykophilousa T137 of the Byzantine Museum, which faithfully follows the Byzantine representation it covered.

This might mean that the Virgin Paramythia of the Vatopedi Monastery, if it does not cover a Byzantine representation, does, at least, copy faithfully an icon on the same theme of the late 13th or early 14th century. Supporting this view is the intense look of the Christ Child – unusual in the period to which the icon belongs – as well as the dark irises, in which the pupils are not accented, and which float in the whites of the eyes. This feature, which appears among the expressive means of Byzantine painting from the 11th century¹⁶ on, becomes an established element in the representations of the so-called "crusader" workshops,¹⁷ and survives in weaker form until the beginning of the 14th century.

Moreover, the entire comfortable position of the Child seated on the arm of his mother, with the legs in a parallel line and the relaxed and diagonally disposed left leg accentuated, is a feature we encounter in icons of the Virgin and Child of the 14th century, whose provenance is the wider Macedonian area.¹⁸

However, this important representation, which presents so many interesting problems of identification and dating, becomes even more important on account of its special semeiological code, which constitutes one of the most interesting attempts of Byzantine iconography to convey a clearer expression of a special semantic content. The rare – as we have mentioned – iconography that has also been applied in the Romanesque church of Montmorillon, in France, did not pass unnoticed by researchers, who very early on linked the Paramythia of Vatopedi to the Byzantine Descent from the Cross and the western *Pietà*.¹⁰ Especially in the Byzantine Descent from the Cross, the Virgin, already since the 10th century, is portrayed holding – and sometimes kissing – the wounded palm of her dead Son.²⁰ The application of the same iconography in the Virgin and Child of the Byzantine icons on the same theme as those of Cyprus and Montmorillon, expresses once again, we believe, through the medium of this wonderful and profoundly human pictorial representation, the grief of the Virgin Mother and the dread of the Christ Child in the face of the coming Passion.

Bibliography: Kondakoff 1902, p.174, pl.XX. Petrizet 1906, pp.289-294. Millet 1927, pl.98..

1. Transcription of the inscription by Millet-Pargoire-Petit 1904, no.94.

2. Papageorgiou 1969, ill. on p.26.

3. Papageorgiou op.cit., ill. on p.18.

4. Focillon 1938, pp.34-35, pls.43-45. Anthony 1951, p.145, ill.313. Schrade 1966, p.146. Demus 1970, p.18, coloured plate on p.17.

5. See note 4.

6. See relevant bibliography in Petrizet 1906, pp.289-294.

7. Kondakoff 1902, p.174, pl.XX.

8. Petrizet op.cit.

9. Millet-Pargoire-Petit 1904, nos.91 & 94.

10. Millet 1927, no.98.

11. The story appears on the back of a coloured reproduction of the icon of the Virgin Paramythia printed by the Vatopedi Monastery (undated)

12. Chatzidakis 1972, pp.121-137, pls.41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46.

13. Op.cit., p.123, pl.41.

14. Op.cit., p.122 and note 5.

15. Chatzidakis 1966, p.17, pls.(9a-b. Pallas 1971, pl.60.

16. See examples at hand of frescoed representations in Cyprus: A. and J. Stylianos 1985, ill.61 (Asinou, St. Paul of the Dormition of the Virgin), ill.21 (Kakopetria, Aghios Nikolaos tis Stegis, detail of St. Floros).

17. Op.cit. ill.62 (Canterbury, Cathedral, St. Paul).

18. See representation of the Virgin Psychosostria in the double-sided icon of Ochrid (Djurić 1961, no.17, p.94 ill.XXVII).

19. Petrizet op.cit.

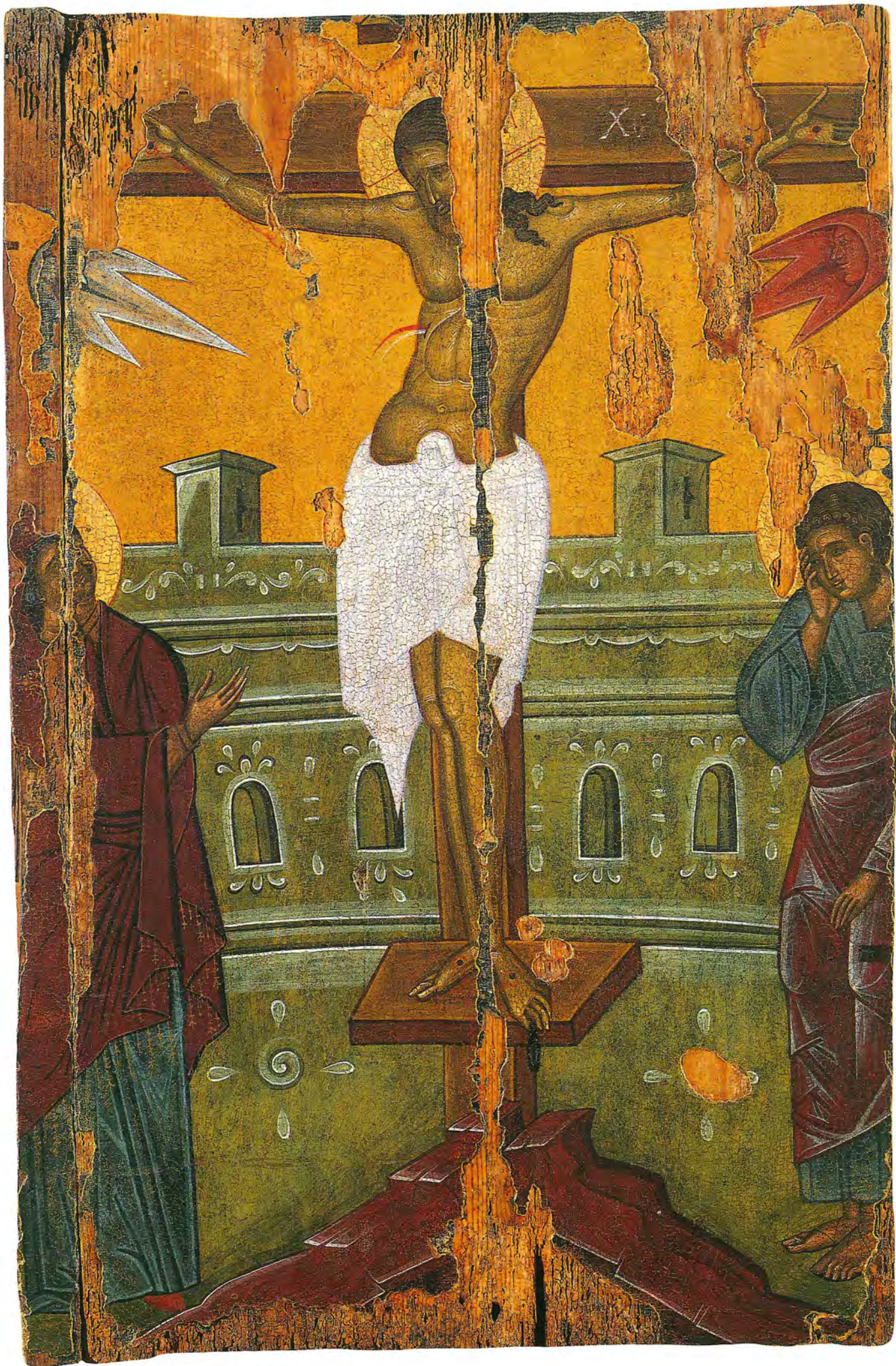
20. See Descent from the Cross in the tetraevangel of the Iviron Monastery, no.5 (Millet 1916, ill. 496), the miniature in the manuscript Laur. VI 23 (Millet op.cit., ill.494), and principally the Virgin of the Descent from the Cross in the mosaic representations of the Nea Moni of Chios (Mouriki 1985, B' pls.42, 46), where the Virgin kisses the palm of her Son who has been lowered from the Cross.



Pl. 70. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.43). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T1588). Late 15th century.



Pl. 71. Double-sided icon (no.38). (obverse): The Virgin Glykophilousa. Athens. Byzantine Museum (T139).
15th century.



Pl. 72. Double-sided icon (no.38). (reverse). The Crucifixion. Athens. Byzantine Museum (T139). 15th century.



Pl. 73. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.40). Athens. Private Collection. 15th century.



Pl. 74. Detail of pl. 73



Pl. 75. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.41). Athens. Museum of Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos. Late 15th century.



Pl. 76. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.39). Athens, Byzantine Museum (T351). 15th century.



Pl. 77. Detail of pl. 76

Pl. 78. Detail of pl. 76





Pl. 79. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.44). Thessalonike. D. Ekonomopoulos Collection. Second half of the 15th century



Pl. 80. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.45). Thessalonike. D. Ekonomopoulos Collection. Late 15th - early 16th century.



Pl. 81. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.46). Albania. Berat Museum. Middle of the 16th century.
Pl. 82. Detail of pl. 81





Pl. 83. Detail of pl. 81



Pl. 84. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.47). Athens. Private Collection. First half of the 16th century.



Pl. 85. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.49). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T71). 16th century.



Pl. 86. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.42). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T78). Late 15th century



Pl. 87. Virgin of the Passion (no.50). Sinai. Monastery of St. Catherine. Early 15th century.

Pl. 88. Detail of pl. 87







Pl. 89. Detail of pl. 90

Pl. 90. Virgin of the Passion "H AMOΛYNTOC" (no.51). Collection of ex-queen Frederica. 15th century.



Pl. 91. Detail of pl. 90



Pl. 92. Virgin of the Passion (no.52). Zakynthos. Museum. Early 16th century.



Pl. 93α-β. Details of pl. 92



Pl. 94. The Virgin Glykophilousa (no.48). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T2644). Late 15th -early 16th century.



Pl. 95. Virgin of the Passion (no.53). Rome. Private Collection. Late 16th century.

Pl. 96. Detail of pl. 95





Pl. 97. The Virgin Paramythia (no.54). Mount Athos. Vatopedi Monastery (fresco). Late 16th -early 17th century.

Pl. 98. Detail of pl. 97



Ὁ ἸΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ
ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου
ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης
ὁ ἀγαπῶν ἡμᾶς
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν πόλιν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν γῆν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν θάλασσαν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν οὐρανὸν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν φύσιν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἀνθρώπινην
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἀγγελοποιαν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἁγίαν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν πόλιν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν γῆν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν θάλασσαν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν οὐρανὸν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν φύσιν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἀνθρώπινην
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἀγγελοποιαν



The Virgin of the Passion in a variant of the Hodegetria.¹

Iconographic type.²

The Virgin Hodegetria with the Child swaddled in a gold-embroidered *loros* (band) is one of the variants of the Virgin and Child in which the allusion to the future Passion of Christ is most clearly expressed. The element that provides the determinative clue to the meaning of the representation is, as we shall attempt to prove, that of the Child's swaddling clothes, a feature connected both with the Nativity and with the Entombment of Christ.

The Virgin is depicted in half length and holding the Child, usually on her left arm. Her right hand is raised in front of her breast, as in the iconography of the Hodegetria. The Christ Child, very small in size, sits upright, holding a closed scroll, which he rests in a vertical position on his left knee, while his right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing. He turns his head and looks at his mother, whose own gaze, however, is directed far away, beyond the viewer. He wears a sleeved chiton and a long golden-green band, which covers his neck, shoulders and breast, passes under his left arm and winds around his waist, thighs and legs. At the base of the neck and in the triangular opening formed in front by the crossed band, can be seen a small part of his transparent shift.³ His legs are crossed high up, his bare left foot is turned up, and from it hangs his loosened sandal.

Iconographically, the representation is identified with that of the Hodegetria mainly because of the position of the Virgin's right hand in front of her breast, a feature which constitutes the conventional characteristic of this type. The particularity of this iconographic form resides in the golden-green band which, as we have mentioned, is wrapped around the body and legs of Christ. Most of the remaining elements, although they are to be found here and there in the Byzantine iconography of the Hodegetria, appear as permanent and conventional elements of the representation of the Virgin of the Passion, as the type is painted by the Cretan artists of the 15th century.⁴

In the Cretan icons of the Virgin of the Passion we find the element of the crossed maphorion of the Virgin, with its many parallel folds over the right shoulder and with the triangular opening created by the curve of the drapery over the breast, which re-

veals a large part of her chiton.⁵ The latter detail already appears in the Virgin and Child in the mosaic of Hosios Loukas in Phokis,⁶ but characterises mainly the Virgin of the Passion of the 15th century.

Moreover, the strange way in which the Child's legs are crossed, and his bare sole, visible in the lower part of the icon, is well known in Byzantine iconography and was already applied in the 9th-century icon in Tsikanli, Georgia.⁷ It is also present in the two mosaics of the Virgin at Hosios Loukas⁸ and in the Hodegetria of the Capella Palatina in Palermo,⁹ in the mosaic icon of the Pammakaristos in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Constantinople,¹⁰ in the mosaic icon of the Virgin in the monastery of Mt. Sinai,¹¹ and not infrequently thereafter in 13th- and 14th-century representations of the Glykophilousa.¹²

In the Virgin of the Passion, the bare sole of the Child's foot, which appears for the first time in the wall painting of the Virgin Arakiotissa at Lagoudera,¹³ Cyprus, is once again established by the 15th-century Cretan artists as a main characteristic of the type. The dependence of this element of our representation on the Cretan Virgin of the Passion is also proven by the loose sandal of the Child, which hangs from the upturned sole of his foot and which invariably appears in all the Cretan icons on the same theme.¹⁴

Finally, the type of the Virgin Hodegetria with the Child swaddled in a band can be seen in a series of fine 15th-century works of Cretan art, some of the most important examples of which are the Hodegetria of Capodimonte, in Naples,¹⁵ Italy, which has been attributed to Andreas Ritzos; the icon of the same type at the Camposanto Teutonico of the Vatican,¹⁶ which has been ascribed to the same painter, and also the Virgin Hodegetria of Thessalonike¹⁷ (pl.106), and the Oberlin Virgin in the Allen Memorial Museum.¹⁸ Among the remaining works in the series, of interest are: the icon on the same subject in the Sekulić Collection in Belgrade;¹⁹ the two fine icons of the Byzantine Museum T77 (pl.103) and T2311 (pl.112)²⁰; the two icons which were auctioned off at Sotheby's in London;²¹ the beautiful icon of the former Nikolenko Collection in Paris;²² the icon of the Ravenna Museum;²³ the Virgin of the Recklinghausen Museum;²⁴ the Trieste Virgin;²⁵ the interesting icon belonging to a private

collector, kept in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (pl.104);²⁶ the fine icon in a private collection in Rome (pl.100);²⁷ two icons of the Likhachev collection,²⁸ and another two icons in the Historical Museum of Moscow.²⁹ To this series we must also add the Hodegetria in the Galleria Regionale of Syracuse,³⁰ the icon which has recently been found on the market,³¹ and the exceedingly refined representation, also on the same theme, in the icon belonging to a private collection in Athens (pl.110).

Perhaps the most important icon belonging to this series — dated to an early period and interesting as regards the origin and provenance of the type — is the Virgin "Amolyntos" of the Toplou Monastery³² in Crete, where we can see the earliest use of the golden-green band around the shoulders and legs of the Child. The icon presents features closely related to the artistic resources and practices of the Cretan artist Angelos, who was active during the first half of the 15th century. Among the most significant of these, we note the translucent dark-brown underpaint of the flesh, through which can be made out the preparation of the work. Despite the above-mentioned characteristics, the icon must be attributed to a later Cretan workshop, that is to a workshop of the middle of the 15th century, producing work not dissimilar to that of Andreas Ritzos, in the early part of whose oeuvre we must seek comparable hesitant artistic means. We might attribute this valuable icon, with its obvious weaknesses — such as the large, clumsily-painted hands of the Child, the poor draughtsmanship, the limited chromatic range — to a promising young artist, but an inexperienced one, who is attempting to reproduce important prototypes. These weaknesses do not appear to particularly affect the important presence of the work, which constitutes the oldest and most complete example of the type.

Finally, exceedingly interesting as regards the establishment of this iconographic form is also the large icon on the same subject in the Byzantine Museum (T186, pl.114) now in the Museum of Byzantine Civilisation in Thessalonike, which, although similar iconographically to the other icons of this series, should be attributed, on the basis of its stylistic features, to a 15th-century³³ Macedonian workshop.

In view of the above it is obvious that, apart from individual examples, the type is represented by important Cretan icons, in which can be found the characteristic iconographic elements which determine its identity, with only very few exceptions presenting certain insignificant iconographic deviations.

The Oberlin Virgin and the icon of the Museum of Ravenna show the Hodegetria holding the Child on her right, while in the icon of the Ravenna Museum, the Christ Child holds an open scroll with the

inscription: "*The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me*".

It must also be noted that the loose sandal, present in most representations of this particular group, is absent in the icon of the Toplou Monastery. Moreover, in the icon (Cat.No.65) auctioned off by Sotheby's of London in June 1985, and in the icon which has recently been discovered on the market, are depicted, on either side of the Virgin's halo, the archangels Michael and Gabriel,³⁴ which in the icon of the Toplou Monastery have been painted in roundels.

On the other hand, the iconographic particularity — interesting especially in terms of the symbolism of the representation — of the golden-green band enveloping the Christ Child to below his knees, is present in all the representations without exception.

It is worth mentioning that this golden-green band of cloth passes over the richly-draped, sleeved chiton of Christ, and that the himation of Christ the Master, characteristic of the type of the Hodegetria, is not indicated. Shown wearing a sleeved, richly-draped chiton and without an himation is the Child in the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria of the Monastery of Mt. Sinai,³⁵ which has been dated to the 14th century and attributed to a Constantinopolitan workshop, and he is portrayed in the same manner in the icon of the Hodegetria in the Sinai diptych,³⁶ which has been attributed to Manuel Eugenikos. In both representations the Christ Child is depicted with a slim and delicate figure, a long and slender neck, more or less as he appears in our icon.

The iconography of the Hodegetria with Christ swathed in a swaddling band, which has no older Byzantine or Palaeologan precedent — at least so far as we know — may be compared, as regards the element of the band, with the enthroned Virgin and Child in the 12th-century fresco in the church of St. Nicholas at Motolla, in Italy.³⁷ There, in both arms, the Virgin holds the half-reclining Child, who is wrapped in his infant's swaddling clothes. The fact that the latter element does indeed represent the baby's swaddling clothes is confirmed by the decorative double vertical lines which are present, here and there, to indicate the linear decoration usual in the swaddling clothes of infants in the Byzantine period, as we see them rendered mainly in representations of the swaddled Infant of the Nativity.³⁸

This realistic detail in the Motolla wall painting does not appear to have survived in the Byzantine iconography of the Virgin and Child, despite the constant use of the element, from early Byzantine times on, in the representations of the Nativity. On the contrary, in Western art, we often find the swaddling clothes depicted, particularly in the 15th century.

One of the clearest examples of the application of this element is to be seen in the gilded terracotta relief by Donatello in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.³⁹ There, the Virgin, her hands held in a gesture of supplication in front of her breast, inclines her head in worship before the Child, who is seated on a small throne and wrapped in his infant's swaddling clothes. Donatello repeats the same representation in coloured stucco in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin.⁴⁰

This iconographic element also seems to be used during the same period by the Cretan artist of our painting, transmuted now into the more symbolic and conventional form of the *loros*. This transmutation of the infant's swaddling clothes into a decorative band in 15th-century Cretan iconography is not accidental and makes our painting one of the most interesting and symbolic iconographic examples of this period.

Symbolism of the representation.

The iconographic analysis of the subject has shown that the representation is identifiable in certain points with the Virgin of the Passion. The allusion to the future Passion of the Child, which is expressed in external elements in the Virgin of the Passion, appears to be inherent in the variation of the Hodegetria with Christ swaddled in a band, and is related to the Nativity and the Entombment.

Among the elements that are expressive of this symbolism in the Virgin of the Passion, besides the external features, such as the symbols of the Passion, shown "beforehand" by the angels, the Virgin's grief and the Child's fear, his upturned sole and loosened sandal, there has now been added, in our variant, the golden-green *loros* which envelops the body and legs of Christ.

This iconographic detail, which is to be seen in all the icons of our variant, is combined with the slightly-built Child of the representation and is related in form both to the infant's swaddling clothes and to the bands used in burial.

That which at first sight appears to be a strange insistence of this iconographic type on the depiction of the diminutive Child — in a representation, moreover, of the Virgin Hodegetria — finds its interpretation in the texts of the Fathers of the Church, in which Christ is very often — and not by chance — referred to as an "infant", or "infant-like baby". This reference is related both to the Incarnation and to the Passion which proves the Incarnation.

Among the best-known texts that refer to Christ in such a way is the *Logos* by St. John Damascene in which, celebrating the Annunciation, he addresses

the Virgin thus: "Hail, for Thou didst beget an infant-like babe, whom the joyful Simeon having seen, hastened to depart".⁴¹ Elsewhere, in the same *Logos*, Christ once again "appears in the likeness of an infant" according to the Damascene, who, once again addressing the Virgin, says: "O Mother of God, thou through whom the inconstructible is constructed, the rich man made poor and the Most High taketh on the form of an infant".⁴² The same meaning is conveyed by the reference of Eusebius to the infant Christ, who "though in body an infant dost so abundantly exercise Thine economy...";⁴³ — to limit ourselves only to a sample of the many relevant extracts from the texts of the Fathers of the Church.

Iconographically, however, the image of the infant Christ is used mainly in the Nativity, in representations of which the small newborn babe is depicted from a very early period on, as we have already said, in his swaddling clothes.⁴⁴

The image of the swaddled Child of the manger in the iconography of the Nativity is also documented by texts such as the Protoevangel of James, where "Mary having heard that the infants were to be destroyed, in fear took the child and swaddled him and placed him in a manger..."⁴⁵ However, we know that the infant's swaddling-clothes are similar morphologically and connected semantically to the burial "keiries", that is to the Byzantine burial bands in which we usually see Lazarus wrapped in the representations of his raising, and in which we also very often find Christ himself depicted in the scene of his Entombment.

In the miniatures of the codex Laurentianus VI, in which are depicted the preparations for the Burial of Christ,⁴⁶ we also have a detailed portrayal of the manner in which he is wrapped in the linen burial bands, which are similar in form to the infant's swaddling clothes. Also, in the miniature of the Entombment in the 13th-century New Testament Gr. qu.66 (in the Staatbibliothek in Berlin⁴⁷), Christ is shown wrapped in his burial *keiries* in the same manner as the Christ Child in the Nativity is swathed in his swaddling clothes. Other examples are those of the miniature on the same theme in the *Evangelistarium* of the Monastery of the Great Lavra⁴⁸ on Mount Athos and the mosaic of the Nativity in the church of Hosios Loukas in Phokis.⁴⁹

The form and the name of these burial clothes is also indicated in the directions regarding the "staging" of the Raising of Lazarus in a "folk mystery" of the Passion.⁵⁰ There, among other instructions, it is said: "Place Christ and his disciples facing the tomb of Lazarus, and show the one who died as Lazarus in the tomb, wrapped in keiries and covered with a winding sheet". We also find the burial custom of the "lazarosis" mentioned in connection with Christ in the religious drama "The Passion of Christ", where the

"stage directions" for the preparation of Christ for burial are given by the Virgin herself to the aged Joseph of Arimathea: "Now, then, dearly beloved old Joseph, take thou the Child in thine embrace and draw him unto thee. Take him, take him now and lift up his body and lift thou his head upright, placing a splint of wood behind his neck."⁵¹

The burial clothes of the *lazarosis* have been linked to the infant's swaddling clothes in theological texts as well. There, the burial clothes of Christ are often called "burial swaddling clothes". The same name is given to the burial *keiries* by St. John Chrysostom, to which definition St. Cosmas of Jerusalem refers when he writes: "These (*keiries*) St. Chrysostom calls burial swaddling clothes".⁵³ Chrysippus of Jerusalem also refers to this connection between the two as follows: "(Joseph) wrapped in swaddling clothes Him who by His own power wrapped in swaddling clothes the whole of creation".⁵⁴

The semantic link between the swaddling clothes of the Infant of the Nativity and the "burial swaddling clothes" is stressed particularly by Symeon of Thessalonike, in interpreting the symbolism of the cloths which cover the Holy Altar: "And also the coverings," he writes, "typify the swaddling clothes and the burial sheet and the pall, the cloths both of the incarnation and the death, for even for this was he incarnated, to be slaughtered for our sake".⁵⁵

Symeon of Thessalonike also finds the same symbolic correlation further along, where the cloth covering the paten symbolises the swaddling clothes, and the *aer*, the cloth covering the chalice, typifies the burial clothes of Christ: "Then (the priest) taking the cover of the paten, which together with the other coverings stands for, the swaddling clothes... which declare the incarnation of the Word".⁵⁶ "Then the priest lastly places the *aer* which... also signifies the winding sheet, and it is because of this that he often carries the dead Christ anointed with myrrh and this is called the *epitaphios*. This the mystery teaches us clearly, to the end, as on a tablet. For he who was presaged as a lamb and who was above the heavens, came down to a grotto and was born in the flesh in a manger, and the signs of his Passion were marked on him right from the moment of his birth".⁵⁷

But the swaddling clothes are connected with the burial clothes especially in the Virgin's lament at the Entombment, where the burial bands of the *lazarosis* remind her of her child's swaddling clothes. "And again", says the Virgin as she mourns over Christ in the words of Symeon the Metaphrast, "I who did tend thee also in thy swaddling clothes, must now bestow my care on thy burial wrappings".⁵⁸

So, too does the Virgin mourn Christ in the *Logos* which has again been attributed to Symeon the Metaphrast or to Andrew of Crete, to Theophanes or to Theodore the Studite. "Instead of in swaddling clothes,"

she says there too, "my son, in a sheet I will wrap thee, and instead of in a manger, my light, I shall lay thee in a dark tomb."⁵⁹

In the religious drama entitled *Christos paschon*, too, the Virgin, in tears, once again links those two elements: "For thou liest now wrapped in linen bands, who wert erewhile in swaddling clothes".⁶⁰

The linking of the Nativity with the future Passion of Christ is also suggested in the iconography of the representation, which echoes the above doctrinal and poetic references.

The Nativity of the former Volpi collection⁶¹ (pl.115), one of the most important 15th-century icons, also includes external iconographic elements indicating the preordination of the future Passion of the Child from the very moment of his birth. The Volpi icon, which otherwise follows the iconography of a Palaeologan prototype similar to that of the *Peribleptos* in Mystras - which is also applied in a small series of 15th-century Cretan icons - presents an important element as regards the semeiology of the Passion. Within the arched blue band of the firmament and above the forked crest of the jagged rocks has been painted a large bright cross, the sharp vertical point of which is directed towards the swaddled newborn babe in the manger. The horizontal arms of the cross follow the outline of the arched blue vault of the heavens, which is pierced only by the upper part of the vertical axis of the cross.

This iconographic element, which undoubtedly constitutes an impressive symbol prefiguring the future Passion of the newborn Infant, appears to interpret a particular homily or poetic work, similar to the hymn written by Romanus the Melodist "To the holy Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ", in which the newborn Christ himself announces to his mother: "I, servant and mother of mine/will sadden thee, for I know what I shall do/...He whom thou carriest in thy hands, by the hands will be nailed/thou shalt behold me, anon, I shall save thy kind .../He whom thou sucklest shall by others be given bile"... Him to whom thou gavest life shalt thou see hanging on a cross..."⁶²

A connection between this particular hymn and the great sword poised over the newborn babe of the Volpi icon is quite probable, since, as has been observed, the art of the later Palaeologan period shows a particular interest in the homilies and hymns of all the melodists and poets, and in particular in those by Romanus the Melodist, who is himself often depicted in the paintings.

We shall now attribute the same meaning to the great cross-shaped disc over the swaddled Child of the Nativity at Egri Tas Kilisse,⁶³ and to the cross with the long arms projecting out of a similar disc in the Nativity at Santa Maria del Castelseprio.⁶⁴

From the foregoing, and if all this is correct, the ornamental band wrapped around the body and legs of the "infant" Christ of our icon is related to his swaddling and burial clothes and once again symbolises the Nativity and the Passion, despite its morphological transformation from the swaddling clothes of the Virgin at Motolla, to the golden-green band of our Cretan icons of the 15th century. Besides, the theological significance of the element is not changed by this conventional transmutation into a band, particularly as it has been proven that the imperial *loros* also symbolised Christ's Burial and Resurrection.⁶⁵

According to a written testimony by Constantine Porphyrogennetus, the emperor appeared on Easter day wearing a *loros* and accompanied by twelve patricians, also wearing gold bands. The twelve patricians symbolically represented the twelve apostles accompanying Christ, whom the emperor stood for. The symbolism of the *loros* worn by the emperor and the patricians around him is explained in the same text by Constantine Porphyrogennetus, who says: "the wearing of bands by our magisters and patricians on the day of the Resurrection of Christ our God symbolizes His Burial."⁶⁶

An important element, we believe, as regards the typological and semantic connection of the band in our representation with the imperial *loros* and a conscious allusion to a more particular symbolism, is yet another iconographic detail in the type, to which we shall now refer.

As has been noted, Christ, here, always holds his closed scroll, not in the sideways position familiar to us from the iconographic scheme of the Byzantine Hodegetria, but directed vertically in relation to his knee. The application of this peculiar element does not appear to be accidental, and has been found

previously in the iconography of the Byzantine emperor, who holds the imperial emblem known as "akakia" in the same position. Among the best-known examples, we note here the mosaic representation in the church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople in which the emperor Alexander⁶⁷ is shown holding in his right hand the "akakia" in the form of a cylindrical object. It is held vertically, as is the scroll of our representation. A characteristic example is also offered by the imperial figure in the fresco on the outside of the south wall of the narthex, in the katholikon of the monastery of the Mavriotissa in Kastoria. There too, the emperor, who has recently been identified as Michael VIII Palaeologus,⁶⁸ holds a similarly shaped *akakia* in the same manner.

The typological and semantic connection of the two elements is also confirmed by a testimony of Constantine Porphyrogennetus in his book, *De Cerimoniis* (I.638), where the *akakia* is called *tomos*, which means "scroll".

Firmly convinced that the ancient documented link of the *loros* with the *akakia* continues to be implied here, we now believe that the scroll in our representation held by the infant Christ, who is also clad in a *loros*, alludes, in addition, to the idea of imperial power,⁶⁹ also to Christ's Passion on earth, which is symbolised by the band of the magisters and patricians on Easter Sunday, as well as by the imperial *akakia* - which was actually only a simple bag containing earth.

In summing up, we conclude that the connection of this element with the theological meaning of the Passion proves that the iconographic type of the Cretan Hodegetria with the infant Christ clad in a *loros* constitutes yet another variant of the Virgin of the Passion.

1. See Baltoyianni 1994, pp.23-33.

2. On the iconographic type of the Hodegetria see chiefly Kondakoff 1914-1915, II., pp.152-293. Lazareff 1938, pp.46-65. Mouriki 1991, pp. 153-182.

3. On the transparent shift of the Child see Mouriki, op.cit. pp.167-170, in which find all the relevant bibliography.

4. On the type of the Cretan Virgin of the Passion of the 15th century and its creator see Chatzi-

- dakis 1974a, pp.180-181. Chatzidakis 1974b, p.104. Chatzidakis 1977, p.68.
5. Chatzidakis 1974a, pl.IA'1. Chatzidakis 1974b, figs.74, 75, 76. Cattapan 1973, pl.A'1, 2; B'1, 2 and C'1.
6. Diez, Demus 1931, fig.21. Kondakoff 1915, II, pp.190-191, fig.87. Alibegasvili, Volskaja (in Weitzmann, Alibegasvili et al 1983), pl. on p.94.
7. Kondakoff, op.cit. Alibegasvili, Volskaja op.cit.
8. Diez, Demus op.cit, figs.20 and 21.
9. Demus 1949, fig.22
10. G. Sotiriou 1937, pl.9.
11. G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.71. Weitzmann, Chatzidakis, Radojčić 1980, fig. on p.59.
12. See the Virgin and Child of the Mt. Sinai Monastery (G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.192), the Glykophilousa of Decani (Djurić 1961, fig.30, pl.XLV) and the Virgin and Child of the Benaki Museum (Xyngopoulos 1936, fig.1).
13. G. Sotiriou 1953-1954, pp.87-91.
14. See note 5.
15. Cattapan 1973, p.277, No.15. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos 1984, p.209, fig.5.
16. Hagedorn 1977, p.240, pl.12b. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos op.cit., p.210, pl.6.
17. Baltoyianni, see note 1.
18. Gouma-Peterson 1968.
19. Sekulić Collection 1967, No.54 (in Serbian).
20. Baltoyianni see note 1.
21. *Icons* (June 1984), Cat.No.10. Fine Icons (15th June 1981), Cat. No.65.
22. *Galerie Nikolenko* 1975, Cat. No.11.
23. Pavan 1979, No.18.
24. *Recklinghausen* 1976, No.151, pl.14.
25. Bianco Fiorin 1978, No.13.
26. *Exhibition on the occasion of the centenary of the Christian Archaeological Society* 1985, No.16, fig. on p.30 (Baltoyianni) (in Greek).
27. See note 1.
28. Likhachev 1906-1908, No.76, pl.XLIV. On Likhachev's second icon see *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, No.4, pp.333-335, pl.4 (Piatnitsky).
29. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* op.cit., No.33, pp.395-396, pl.33 (Kyzlasova). An icon of the same type from the Tretiakov Gallery was presented at the same exhibition [op.cit. No.75, pp.426-427, pl.75 (Sidorenko)].
30. *Siracusa Bizantina* 1989, pl.9.
31. Roozemon, Ginhoven 1980, No.13, pl.7.
32. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, No.139, p.495, pl.139 (Borboudakis).
33. Similar facial features are also found in the Christ of the icon of the Virgin Eleousa in Korcula of southern Dalmatia, painted at least a century before, and attributed to a Greek artist. See Djurić 1961, No.46, pl.L XV.
34. On the incorporation of this element in the semeiology of the Passion in 15th-century Cretan iconography, see Baltoyianni 1985, No.15, p.28 (in Greek). Baltoyianni 1985, No.15, p.27. *Affreschi e Icone* 1986, No.59, p.102, pl.79 (Baltoyianni).
35. G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.226.
36. G. and M. Sotiriou, op.cit., pl.234. Belting 1979, p.103.
37. Fonseca 1970, fig.182 and 190.
38. Among the oldest representations, the Nativity on a "blessing" (*eulogia*) in Monza (Grabar 1958, p.19, pl.V).
39. Pope-Hennessy 1959, p.462, fig.16.
40. Op.cit. fig.17.
41. Efstratiades 1930, p.93.
42. Op.cit., p.93.
43. *PG* 22, 521B.
44. See representation of Christ in swaddling clothes on a "blessing" in Monza (Grabar, op. cit., p.19).
45. Tischendorf 1959, p.42.
46. Cottas 1931, p.84.
47. Maguire 1977, fig.19.
48. Maguire op.cit., fig.29.
49. Op.cit., fig.28.
50. Lambros, "Η Βυζαντινή σκηνοθετική διάταξις των Παθών του Χριστού" (in Greek), *NE I'* (1916), p.381.
51. *Χριστός Πάσχων*, *PG* 38, 1300.
52. *PG* 60, 715.
53. *PG* 38, 361.
54. Jugie 1925, p.336.
55. *PG* 155, 264.
56. *PG* 155, 285.
57. *PG* 155, 288.
58. *PG* 114, 216.
59. See *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 (1913), pp.302-313.
60. *PG* 38, 253.
61. Garisson 1949, p.114, no.293. Chatzidakis 1962, p.30. Lazareff 1966, p.49 and p.51. Lazarev 1967, p.407, ill.574a. Th. Chatzidakis 1982, no.10. *From Byzantium to El Greco* 1987, no.30, pp.166-167 (N. Chatzidaki).
62. Maas, Trypanis 1963, pp.15 & 16.
63. N. and M. Thierry 1963, p.76, ill.17. Christe 1984, pp.13-14, ill.10.
64. Weitzmann 1951, pl.5.
65. Galavaris 1958, p.111.
66. *De Cerimoniis* (Bonn ed.), pp.638, 765, 766.
67. Underwood 1960, p.214, pl. On p.217.
68. Papamastorakis 1989/1990, p.233.
69. Grierson 1973, p.133.

55. The Virgin Hodegetria.

Rome, Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.42 x 0.30 m.

Second half of the 15th century.

Plates 99, 100, 101, 102.



This icon is one of the earliest works in the series of Cretan icons of the Virgin Hodegetria in the variant showing the Christ Child swathed in a sash. It follows the iconography of the type faithfully in all its details, with the small-sized Infant clad in the golden green sash, and the sole of his foot upturned.

In spite of the damage the icon has sustained, and which can be seen on the left side of the painting, the representation retains its initial elements, which include it among the works produced by a Cretan workshop of the second half of the 15th century. The soft, undulating line of the edges of the Virgin's maphorion and her headdress — as it was highlighted by the once bright gold edging which brought out the delicate variety of its shape and position and ended in a markedly pointed peak above the brow — are elements which are less pronounced in the remaining works of the group belonging to the same iconographic type. Where the representation is particularly fine in comparison with the other icons, is in the treatment of the faces and hands of the figures, which is still very close to that of the icons of the later Palaeologan period.¹ The Child's face is extremely expressive, and has been painted using complex artistic means, as is evident in the freely shaped and placed enamelled lights on the left cheek, in the bright, wavy outline below the eyes, along the ridge of the nose, on the brow and the neck. His expressive right hand, articulated in a painterly manner, also refers us to an artist who was conversant with Palaeologan art, as do the slender shoulders.

From the same tradition also derives the face of the Virgin, her eyes with the different shapes, her fine nose with the slanting cut of the nostrils, and the enamelled luminous planes applied directly over the olive green underpaint, with no intermediary tonal gradations or soft transitions.

The remaining features of the icon are characteristic of the expert and established means of 15th-century Cretan painting. The punched halo of the Virgin with its dense foliate scroll and the floral decoration on the Child's halo between the arms of the inscribed cross, find their parallel in icons produced

by Cretan workshops after the middle of the 15th century.²

This obvious combination of formulated Cretan features with more ancient elements, referring us to Palaeologan techniques and methods, most probably indicates a provenance from an unknown, to date, important Cretan workshop working alongside the great Cretan workshops of the second half of the 15th century, such as those of Andreas Ritzos, Andreas Paviyas, Nikolaos Tzafouris and others.

Finally, among the remaining icons of the series, the one which presents the greatest iconographic and stylistic affinity with that of Rome is the Hodegetria of the Likhachev Collection,³ in which can be found the same modelling of the lights (on larger planes, here), the same curve of the edge of the nose on the Virgin's face, the same peak in the sinuous edge of her head covering, the same floral decoration on the Child's halo. However, other elements of the icon of the Likhachev Collection, such as the undefined left hand of Christ holding the closed scroll, the simpler pattern in the gold streaks of the sash, which in the icon in Rome has been carefully elaborated in the familiar fishbone design, the more naive expression of the Child, whose features in the Likhachev icon are more simply rendered (for instance, the sketchily painted ear) and the particularly melancholy expression of the Virgin, indicate a period of execution posterior to that of our icon.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. See mainly the treatment of the figures in the icon of the Dormition of the Virgin, dated to 1360, in the monastery of Chilandari on Mt. Athos, in which can be seen, already at such an early date, the modelled and enamelled lights on the faces (applied directly over the underpaint), the wavy luminous outlines below the eyes, the hands articulated in a painterly manner (Bogdanović, Djurić, Medaković, 1978, ill.88).

2. See, offhand, the icon of the Virgin Glykophilousa in Trani, Apulia, which has been attributed to Andreas Ritzos, as well as the Virgin of the Passion in the triptych of the church of St. Nicholas in Bari, where the Virgin's halo is adorned with a similar foliate scroll. In the Trani icon are similar also the floral decorations of the halo of Christ, which is inscribed, there too, with a cross (*Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, colour pl. on pp.78, 79, 80).

3. Likhachev 1906-1908, no.76.

56. The Virgin Hodegetria

Athens. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.375 x 0.29 m.

Third quarter of the 15th century.

Pls. 104, 105.



The Virgin is portrayed in half length holding her hand before her breast. The Christ Child, a miniature adult with a baby face, is seated upright on her left arm. His right hand is raised in the attitude of blessing while, in his left, he holds a closed scroll which rests upright on his knee. He is splendidly ar-

rayed in a golden-brick-coloured sleeved chiton and a golden-red sash wrapped about his shoulders, his arms and his crossed legs. The sole of his right foot is turned up towards the viewer.

The Virgin wears a blue, almost black, maphorion lavishly brushed with shimmering gold striations. It covers her head and shoulders, leaving a large triangular opening in front revealing her chiton, which comes all the way up to the base of the neck. The chiton is rendered in a luminous red lacquer and is also richly streaked with gold, as is her headband of the same colour. A thin gold braid runs along the edge of her maphorion, and gold, too, but simple and without elaborately finished ends, is the fringe below her right shoulder. Her punched halo, on the other hand, is most elaborately tooled. The entire ground is ornamented with a complex scroll, which spirals and curls in close convolutions enclosing stylised flowers, hammered into the gold in clearly defined forms of five round petals surrounding a round centre, while smaller floral decorations fill all the empty spaces in between.

The particular characteristics of the work, such as the luminous red brushed with gold in the Virgin's chiton, and the thick gold lights in her headband, are to be found in a painting of the Virgin of the Passion in the Palazzo Contarini del Bovolo in Venice,¹ in which the same colour, in more subdued tones, is used for the Virgin's maphorion, which there also is richly brushed with gold, in the same way as in our icon, and exhibiting the same restless triangular shapes on the right shoulder. The same dark green streaked with gold of the maphorion in our icon is found there in the Virgin's chiton.

The triangular opening in front, where the maphorion crosses over, and which assumes the heraldic shape of the *scudo veneto*, is also present in

the Palazzo Contarini painting, although handled, in a freer manner.

This probably means that the Virgin of Venice is a later work than the Athens icon, in which the above feature is tentatively and more awkwardly executed, as can be seen in the vertical fold on the left side of the head covering, which remains unconnected with the other folds on the shoulder and seems to serve no particular purpose. The same fold in the Venice icon is skilfully curved and is integrated in the entire system of the drapery.

The original iconographic scheme of the entire representation in the Athens icon is apparent, moreover, in the other pictorial means employed. The two faces, especially that of the Virgin, are rendered with masterly skill and artistry and reveal the possession of quite complex pictorial resources. The translucent almond-shaped eyes are placed at a distance from the axis of the nose and seem to float in their large and shadowy sockets. They are differentiated in a pictorially sensitive way in form and position. The large arches of the eyebrows are painted a purple colour and are lighted with thin white outlines. The mouth is exaggeratedly small, with youthful lips delineated on the upper part by a deep and accented wavy outline.

The dependence, to say the least, of this masterpiece on a great prototype is manifest also in the faultlessly rendered hands of the two figures, with the small lights on the articulations of the fingers — a feature that constitutes a familiar characteristic of the works of Andreas Ritzos. The same technique is evident in the luminous modelling of the flesh in the particularly delicate and refined facial features, and in the small whites of the eyes, which we find also in the Italo-Cretan enthroned Virgin of the Correr Museum.²

The attribution of our icon to a workshop closely connected with the painting of Andreas Ritzos — or to one approximate in quality and time — is in accord with the dating of the Virgin Glykophilousa in the Museum of Geneva,³ which exhibits a like quality and certain similar features, such as the gold brushstrokes in the headdress of the Virgin, which there are applied on a dark green ground, in the same colour as that of the maphorion of our icon.

The icon of the Geneva Museum carries a date on the bottom, the erroneous reading of which was recently corrected⁴ by M. Potamianou, who read there the date 1457, instead of 1557, as had previously been suggested. The new dating of the Geneva icon has set at rest the puzzled doubts of researchers, who found it difficult to accept the first dating, seeing that it was impossible, on the basis of the stylistic characteristics of this superb work, to assign it to the 16th century.

We would now, therefore, assign to a date later than that of the Geneva icon — which on the basis of the stylistic features of the painting, precedes our own — and to some time before the end of the third quarter of the 15th century, this precious little work, in which the translucent faces, the splendid gold touches, and the luminous colours bespeak a relationship with Venice; a relationship which seems to be suggested also by the probably deliberately planned shape of the *scudo veneto* in the opening of the Virgin's maphorion.

57. The Virgin Hodegetria.

Thessalonike. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.55 x 0.685 m.

Third quarter of the 15th century.

Pls. 106, 107, 108, 109.



Against a restored gold ground, the Virgin is portrayed in the iconographic type of the Hodegetria. She holds the Child on her right arm and inclines her head slightly towards him. Her right hand is held in front of her breast in an attitude of supplication (*deesis*).

The Christ Child is seated upright, holding a closed scroll in an upright position on his knee, and blessing with his right hand. He wears a sleeved ochre-coloured chiton, lavishly streaked with gold, and a golden-green sash which covers the back of his neck, his shoulders and his chest, passes under his right arm and winds itself around his waist, his thighs and his legs below the knees. His legs are deeply crossed, the bare sole of his right foot, from which hangs the loosened sandal, is turned up.

The Virgin wears a red maphorion, the rich but hard and geometric folds of which are painted a dark purple in the shaded parts. The maphorion crosses over the breast, leaving a large triangular opening through which is seen the deep blue chiton trimmed around the neckline with a striped gold edging. The same gold band adorns the edges of her maphorion, her head covering and the fringed border below the shoulder. Above, on either side of her halo, are depicted in half length St. John the Baptist and St. John the Theologian. The Baptist wears a dark blue fleecy robe and a grey himation

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Rizzi 1972, p.281, no.62. N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.22.
2. Mariacher 1957, pp.131-132. N. Chatzidaki op.cit., no.10.
3. Lazovic, Frigerio-Zeniou 1985, p.2.
4. Acheimastou-Potamianou, "Νικολάου του Λαμπρούδη: Εικόνα της Παναγίας Ελεούσας", ΔΧΑΕ ΙΖ' (in press).

with blue tints, which covers his shoulders and ties in a knot, high up in front, over his breast. The bottom part of the right side of the himation crosses over to the left, leaving bare the lean, fleshless arm of the saint, as well as a large part of the front of his fleecy robe. In the soft curve formed by the drapery in front can be seen part of the lining of the robe, which is coloured in tints of rosy purple.

The saint holds in his left hand an unrolled scroll, on which there is a faded inscription in Latin majuscules, of which only traces survive. Clearly visible are the letter E, part of the following C and D and only a barely detectable trace of the next letter. These letters are probably part of the Latin phrase ECCE AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIT PECCATA MUNDI, which is the inscription usually appearing on the Baptist's scroll in western painting.¹ In his left hand he also holds a large cross, painted on the later gold ground, and which seems to repeat the original feature, effaced when the gold was replaced. The Greek inscription, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΙΩΑΝΝΗC Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC in groupings of majuscules, is also drawn on the newer gold ground.

St. John the Theologian, who is pictured on the corresponding position on the right, holds in both hands a closed Gospel and is clad in a deep blue chiton and a rose-coloured himation, the luminous, soft folds of which are in lighter tones of the same colour. The himation falls freely from his shoulders, forming deep curves in front of his chest. In his right hand he holds a palm branch.

Below, left, on the gold ground, appears a newer Greek inscription in minuscules: δέησις του δούλου του θεού Μιχαήλ σπανού - "Supplication of the servant of God Michael Spanos".² Also of more recent date is the painted frame of the icon.

Stylistically, the icon constitutes one of the most representative examples of the Cretan painting of the 15th century, with elements and pictorial means attesting to its provenance from a workshop of the

circle of Andreas Ritzos.

Noticeable here, too, as in all the icons of the Cretan painter, is - besides the faultless technique, the fine-grained and polished colours - the ability of the artist to combine elements borrowed from various pictorial traditions,³ which he often uses unalloyed. We find, in this icon also, elements borrowed from Palaeologan prototypes, others carried over from the painting of the 14th century Venetian artists (Paolo Veneziano in particular), as well as the already formulated characteristics and the newer resources of contemporary Cretan painting.

Borrowed from the Constantinopolitan iconographic tradition seems to be especially the delicate and extremely refined figure of the Christ Child, clad in shining and luxurious garments, and retaining still the vivid expression of his countenance.

The small, slightly-built figure of the Christ Child is found in precious Palaeologan icons of the Sinai Monastery,⁴ which are entirely dependent on the painting of Constantinople, and also in representations of the Presentation,⁵ in the same monastery, in which the miniaturisation of the Child's figure is carried to the extreme.

Also borrowed from the Constantinopolitan iconographic tradition is the particular treatment of the Child's features, and especially the arrangement of the hair, with the tiny tufts characteristic of the type ending up on his forehead. We find this particular detail also in the Christ Child of the Don Virgin, which has been attributed to Theophanes the Greek.⁶

From Western painting - especially from that of Paolo Veneziano - besides the overstated tenderness and melancholy of the Virgin, our icon has also borrowed certain specific features. Thus, the figure of St. John the Baptist, portrayed on the left of the Virgin's halo, seems to have come straight out of a painting by the Venetian artist, in whose works we can discover the same iconographic type of the saint, handled in exactly the same way.

In looking at works by the same artist, we find that the expression of the Baptist is also exactly the same: in spite of the marked nobility of his countenance, it remains unmistakably human. Among the iconographically parallel features, we note the manner in which the Italian painter clothes the saint's figure, and particularly the detail of the himation knotted in front, over the breast, a device used especially in the St. John of the Correr Museum, no. 584.⁷

In the painting by Paolo Veneziano no. 1480 in the same museum, St. John is shown pointing to the Latin inscription on his scroll with his right hand - here, also his bare arm is exceedingly thin - as he does in our icon.⁸ The same gesture of the Baptist, as he points to the scroll, also appears in the embroidered *antependium* of Santa Maria Minore,⁹ in Zara,

attributed also to Veneziano, in which, however, the saint is dressed differently.

It is worth noting that, in the representation of Zara, St. John resembles our Baptist even as regards his facial features, which are identical in both representations, as is the way the saint's long, wavy hair falls onto his shoulders.

Pertaining to the same ambience is also St. John the Theologian, on the right hand side of the Virgin's halo, whom we may compare, offhand, with the figure of St. Andrew, standing and facing towards the right in the painting of the Cathedral of Trau,¹⁰ a work again attributed to Paolo Veneziano. Noticeable, there, are not only the physiognomic similarities between the two figures, but also a series of details reflecting certain choices made by the Italian painter, and also applied in the portrayal of the Theologian of our icon. We cite, in particular, the closed book in Andrew's hand, the characteristic manner in which his himation is disposed, the way in which it curves below his right arm, as it does under that of the Theologian here, emphasizing the resemblance of the two figures. Moreover, the palm branch in the hand of St. John - instead of the conventional quill usual in the iconography of the Theologian - seems to repeat a feature chosen by the same Venetian artist (although we do have certain doubts concerning the genuineness of the latter detail, in view of the fact that it has been painted on a later gold ground.)

Finally, predominant in our icon are the methods and resources of Cretan painting, as it is formulated in the 15th century under the hands of such Cretan artists of the period as Angelos, Andreas Ritzos and Andreas Paviás, to mention only those whose signatures survive in a series of icons displaying kindred pictorial resources. The folds in the Virgin's maphorion, deep, hard and geometrically drawn, are rendered in at least three tones of purple: a dark purple for the shaded parts, a lighter tone for the intermediary planes, and a bright red for the lighted edges, which are sometimes highlighted in a fourth, even lighter tone. This treatment, which originated in Palaeologan painting, became an established method with the Cretan painters of the 15th century, especially with Andreas Ritzos who, using a simpler technique, employed it without exception in the iconographic type of the Virgin of the Passion.¹¹ Characteristic examples of this iconographic scheme may be found as much in the painting of the Galleria dell'Accademia, in Florence,¹² as in the other signed icons on the same theme (in Ston, in Dalmatia,¹³ and in Parma¹⁴) as well as in most of the icons which have been attributed to him.¹⁵

In all the representations of the Virgin of the Passion, also, the Virgin's maphorion crosses fairly low

down over the bosom, leaving a triangular opening, curved on the three sides, in exactly the same shape as that it presents in our icon. Moreover, the four — at least — parallel folds on the shoulder of the maphorion, seen in the icon we are examining, are rendered in the same manner in icons of the Virgin of the Passion painted by Andreas Ritzos. This technique, also, may be found in certain earlier representations of the Virgin Hodegetria, such as, for instance, that in the mosaic of Hosios Loukas,¹⁶ where the Virgin is shown holding the Child on her right arm, but it becomes a standard characteristic in the icons of Andreas Ritzos.

Also pertaining to the Cretan painting of the 15th century — especially to that of the circle of Andreas Ritzos — are the facial features of the Virgin: the small mouth with the full lips, touched, on the upper part, with thin white brushstrokes, the sorrowful, almond-shaped eyes, softly curved and delineated with shadowy outlines, the large irises which fill the whites of the eyes, lending her gaze a bright and lively expression, still far removed from the manneristic ecstatic look of the next century.

Leading us to relate our icon to the same school of painting is also the modelling of the flesh, which reveals a superlative technique, and the fine-grained, solidly-modelled colours, which permit gentle transitions without necessitating their having to be mixed to obtain tonal gradations. The transparent underpaint of thinned and fine-grained burnt umber softly shade the flesh which, in its highlighted parts, is discreetly tinged with a delicate rosy blush. The wide, large, lighted surfaces are blurred at the edges of the volumes by fine parallel, off-white brushstrokes.

This technique, which presupposes a thorough knowledge of the last phase of the Palaeologan painting of Constantinople, as it survives in the early Cretan icons of the 15th century, is combined here with the technique of the late-Gothic style of Italian painting, which favours a delicate and dimly-lighted rendering of the flesh. The knowledge of the latter technique, on the part of the workshop that produced the icons we are studying, is particularly evident in an icon from a private collection, kept in the Byzantine Museum.¹⁷

The very refined and delicate modelling of the flesh of the two figures in the latter representation loses something of its luminosity and acquires the dim and muted tones of late-Gothic painting. Finally, Cretan in expression is the countenance of the Virgin, which is marked by the classical gravity characteristic of Cretan painting, despite its somewhat accentuated delicacy and melancholy. Besides, a restrained melancholy in the expression of the countenance characterises all the Cretan por-

trays of the Virgin and Child in the 15th century, not excepting the triumphal representation of the Hodegetria.¹⁸

Bibliography: Baltoyanni 1994, pp.23-33.

1. See, offhand, Berenson 1968, II, nos.283, 364, 365, 372, 374, 375, 398, 415, 445, 469, 478, and Moschini-Marconi 1962, pl.9.

2. I am indebted to the Rev. Paul Politis, who restored and photographed the icon, for the information confirming the later interventions on the icon. I thank him most warmly.

3. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.181.

4. G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pls.191, 226, 234.

5. Op.cit., pls.209, 215.

6. See offhand Lazarev 1967, pl.571.

7. Mariacher 1957, ill. on p.125.

8. Op.cit., ill. on p.124.

9. Gamulin 1974, II, p.205, ill.151.

10. Op.cit., p.204, ill.153.

11. Babić, Chatzidakis 1983, pl. on p.318.

12. Bettini 1973, p.19 ff. pl.XL, ill.40. Marcucci 1958, pp.83-84, no.28. Venezia e Bizanzio 1974, no.122. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.181 ff. Cattapan 1973, p.291 ff.

13. Babić, Chatzidaki op.cit.

14. Cattapan op.cit., pl.A'1.

15. See the Virgin of the Passion in the Princeton University Museum, the Virgin of the Passion on the central panel of the triptych in Bari, the Virgin in the church of Santa Maria in Vado, in Ferrara, and an icon on the same theme in Milan. On all the icons, see Cattapan 1973, pl.B'2, C'1, F'1, G'1 respectively.

16. Diez, Demus 1931, ill.21. Babić, Chatzidakis op.cit., coloured pl. on p.146 (above).

17. *Εκθεση για τα 100 χρόνια της ΧΑΕ* 1985, no.16, pp.29-30, pl.16 (Baltoyanni).

18. Baltoyanni 1985, p.28. Baltoyanni 1985, p.27. *Affreschi e Icone* 1986, no.59, p.102, pl.59 (Baltoyanni).

58. The Virgin Hodegetria.

Athens. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.445 x 0.36 m.

Second half of the 15th century.

Pls.110,111.



The Virgin holding the Child, her right hand raised in front of her breast, is depicted on a gold ground displaying an intricate incised pointillé pattern and separated into vertical zones decorated with a broad flowered scroll. A special technique was used to create the spiralling design, which is formed by the

empty spaces left by the tiny dense sigma-shaped incisions executed with a special tool.

On the reverse of the panel, on a reddish-brown preparation, has been inscribed a simple cross. Between its arms appear the letters and monograms: IC XC NI KA, ΘΘΘΘ (Θεοῦ Θέα Θεῖον Θαύμα), ΕΕΕΕ (Ελένης Εύρεσις Ελέους Έρεισμα) ΦΧΦΠ (Φως Χριστοῦ Φαίνει Πάσι). Below the cross is the inscription: ΔΕΗCIC ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΚΗ ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΗ.

The portrayal of the Virgin faithfully follows the iconographic type of the Hodegetria with the Child on her left, turned three quarters towards his mother and wrapped in the *loros*. (On the interpretation of the *loros* see introductory note on the variation of the Hodegetria).

Here, too, as in all the examples of the type, the Child is presented as particularly small in size and having the appearance of an infant; as usual, also, he holds his closed scroll upright on his knee. This last element does not appear to have been chosen fortuitously, and is most probably connected with the Child's sash and the link of the latter both with the funerary bands and with the imperial *loros*.

The icon's particular features — especially the rendering of the Virgin's maphorion, the restlessly-disposed, small, triangular and bright planes on the right shoulder and the triangular opening of the garment in front of the breast forming a *scudo veneto* with curved sides — indicate the dependence of the representation on the prototype followed by the Hodegetria in a private collection in Athens, dated to the third quarter of the 15th century (pl.104), and the later icon T77 of the Byzantine Museum (pl.103), in which survives the most ancient form of the same element of the *scudo veneto*, with straight vertical sides. In the icon in Thessalonike (pl.106), only the left side retains its uncurved line, recalling

the original form of the element. This element, which connects the representation to the western style of painting, accords with the different, late Gothic, manner in which the icon has been rendered.

Of the elements differentiating the representation from the remaining icons of the group, besides the unusual, special technique in which the gold ground has been executed, we note the marked late Gothic modelling, especially that of the Virgin's refined face with its restrained, melancholy expression, the youthful lips, scimitar-shaped eyebrows and, more particularly, the dull lights on the transparent underpaint. The features are delineated with the use of muted highlights, without outlines and the off-white lines in the place of the outlines of the eyes usually encountered in the group of mostly Italo-Cretan icons of the *Madre della Consolazione*. The icon presents an affinity on these points with the Italo-Cretan icons of the *Madre della Consolazione* numbers T365 of the Byzantine Museum, dated to the second half of the 15th century (pl.160), and T347, of the late 15th century, where, however, the same features are less distinct (pl.166).

The iconographic relationship of the icon with the Hodegetria of the same type in Thessalonike, which we have attributed to Andreas Ritzos (pl.106), reveals the existence of an old and respected prototype which lends itself to a number of stylistic variations, as we can see by the different style in which the same type has been rendered in our icon.

Indeed, its particular late-Gothic features, which are to be seen in representations of the *Madre della Consolazione* in which the presence of Italo-Cretan features is presumed, attest to the existence of a parallel prototype, in an Italo-Cretan version, of this variant of the Hodegetria with the Child swathed in a swaddling-band.

Finally, on the basis of its stylistic and iconographic features we shall date our icon to before the end of the second half of the 15th century. Chronologically, it is posterior to both the icon in Thessalonike and the Oberlin Virgin¹ and precedes the *Madre della Consolazione* T2645 of the Byzantine Museum (pl.164), which bears the date 1484, and in which the same late Gothic features are less distinct.

Bibliography: Έκθεση για τα εκατό χρόνια της XAE 1985, no.16, pp.29-31, pl.16 (Baltoyianni). Baltoyianni 1994, pp.23-33.

1. Gouma-Peterson 1968.

59. The Virgin Hodegetria.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (T77).

Dimensions: 0.38 x 0.28 m.

First quarter of the 16th century.

Pl. 103.



This icon constitutes an interesting specimen of the variant in which the Child is wrapped in a gold *loros*. It follows the iconographic type faithfully also in its several features, such as the small size of the Child, the gold *loros*, the Child's crossed legs, his upturned sole. The Virgin, here too, inclines her head towards the Christ Child and wears the usual maphorion, with the triangular opening at the breast, which characterises the Virgin of the Passion.

The icon differs from the early icons of the series especially as regards its stylistic features, which attest to its execution at a later period and certainly not earlier than the first quarter of the 16th century. It is mainly characterised by a marked schematisation of the hard, geometrical folds, especially in the Virgin's maphorion with its restlessly disposed luminous white, triangular planes, which were originally covered by a thinned red colouring in lighter tones, now lost after a deep cleaning carried out at some time in the past.

The obvious iconographic and physiognomic connection of the representation with the Virgin Hodegetria of the same type belonging to a private collection in Athens (pl. 104) now allows us to make certain more specific observations. The extraordi-

nary perfection of the Virgin's oval face, with the large shaded sockets of the eyes and the trace of white on the edges of the irises, the long and fine nose and the warm rosy colours of the flesh, as well as the short, parallel white streaks on the edge of the right eye, are also found in the Hodegetria in Athens. Also on the same iconographic pattern is the opening of the maphorion in front in the *scudo veneto* shape, and the complex triangular shapes on the lighted planes of the drapery on the Virgin's right shoulder. Identical also is the position and attitude of the Child, whose facial features are portrayed in the same way, with only a slight variation. Another similarity to the Athens icon is that of the intricate punched haloes of the two figures, faithfully repeated here.

The differences from the icon of the Hodegetria in Athens are principally related to the marked simplification of our icon and to the poorer means employed in its execution. Here, the bright colours — the clear red of the Virgin's chiton and the rosy-red colour of the Child's sash — the numerous gold streaks on the Virgin's maphorion, the gold bands, the unusual gold striations on the headdress, the careful modelling of the flesh on the refined faces of both figures, are absent. This most probably suggests a later faithful reproduction of the same model, perhaps a particularly fine one, executed by an otherwise skilled Cretan artist now producing an icon for a less demanding client of a later period — a period, however, that is not later, than the early 16th century, at which time there appears to have been a slackening in the quantity and quality of the commissions to Cretan workshops by Venetian merchants.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

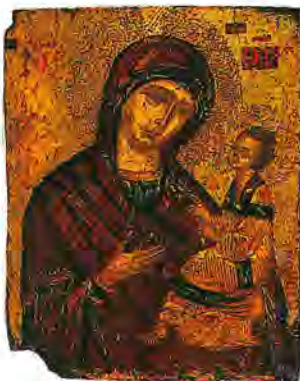
60. The Virgin Hodegetria.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (T2311).

Dimensions: 0.17 x 0.135 m.

Late 15th century.

Pls. 112, 113.



Further proof that the Virgin with the Child swaddled in a sash was adopted and established as a conventional iconographic type of the Virgin Hodegetria is offered by the application of the representation in small icons, destined for private devotion. The Virgin Hodegetria of the Byzantine

Museum T2311 is one of the examples which, in spite of the small dimensions of the icon, faithfully reproduces the type, including all the iconographic details which characterise it.

The Virgin is once again depicted in half length and holding the Child on her left. However, her head is more closely inclined towards the Child and her countenance expresses a deeper sorrow. She is clad in the maphorion usual for the type, which has a large triangular opening in front and which, as has been noted, constitutes one of the iconographic characteristics of the Virgin of the Passion. She holds her right hand before her breast, in the well-known attitude of supplication which marks the iconography of the Hodegetria.

The Christ Child is comfortably seated on her left arm, in an upright position. In his left hand he

holds a scroll, which rests on his knee, and his right hand is raised in blessing as he turns toward his mother. He is clad in a sleeved chiton lavishly streaked with gold, and a gold-threaded *loros*. Present, here too, are the punched haloes, decorated with a simple and summarily rendered foliate scroll.

The stylistic elements of the icon — the refined and delicate features of the two figures, the long, fleshless fingers painted without outlines, the many

gold streaks on the edges of the Virgin's maphorion, on her headdress, on the cuffs of her chiton, on the Christ Child's chiton and sash — indicative of an attempt to make the most of the theme, point to a Cretan workshop of the late 15th century, which can render competently and expertly even the small and modest works it produces.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

61. The Virgin Hodegetria.

Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Civilisation (formerly T186 of the Byzantine Museum).

Dimensions: 1.60 x 1.08 m.

15th century.

Pl.114.



Against a carefully polished gold ground, the Virgin is portrayed in the type of the Hodegetria, in a faithful reproduction of the variant in which the Child is swathed in a *loros*. The Christ Child is seated on the Virgin's rounded left arm, which is covered by her maphorion and from which only part of her hand and her fingers emerge. His legs are crossed

and his right sole turned up, while he blesses with his right hand and holds, in his left, on his knee and upright, a closed scroll. A golden - green sash is wrapped around his shoulders, his arms and his legs. The representation is of great interest as regards the wider dissemination of this iconographic type and is the only icon of the series that is produced by a Macedonian workshop.

The important differences presented by the icon, in comparison with the other icons of the series, concern the stylistic features of the work and, particularly, the manner in which the Child has been rendered. Here he is very large and the childishness of his features is expressed by means of his puffed cheeks, short nose — rounded at the tip — and his large and chubby hands and feet.

These characteristics, which appertain to the artistic resources of the Macedonian workshops of the 14th and 15th centuries, are in accord also with the luminous blue colour of the Virgin's chiton, the deep, coarse-grained purple of her himation, as well as with the warm brick colour, and reddish linear markings of the Christ Child's himation.

Together with the above features, other charac-

teristic elements are also applied in the icon, attesting to the workshop's familiarity with early Cretan painting. There are no outlines delineating the facial features, which are rendered only through the use of light, while the highlights on the flesh are hazy. These elements, which derive from late - Gothic painting, are particularly applied in the so-called Italo-Cretan icons of the 15th century.

Moreover, the treatment of the folds of the Virgin's maphorion is related to the techniques with which we are familiar from the works of the Cretan artists of the 15th century. The highlighted edges of the folds, which here too are geometrical and which appear to be in lighter tones of purple, are simply rendered in white paint, brushed over with red lacquer. This technique, which constitutes a simplified form of the older Palaeologan technique, is very often employed also by the Cretan painters of the 15th century.

Finally, this strange combination of different elements, with a predominance of those pointing to Macedonian workshops, attests, we believe, to the presence here of a Macedonian workshop, which is also conversant with Cretan painting, perhaps through the intermediary of Dalmatian workshops.

It is worth noting, at this point, that the Thessalonican origin of the icon, its very large dimensions, as well as its other elements, appear to connect it to the icon of Christ "the Wisdom of God", no. T185, in the Byzantine Museum.¹ We know that both icons originate from Thessalonike — that of the Virgin from the church of St. Athanasius and that of Christ from the church of Hagia Sophia.

The two works are also of similar dimensions. The small difference in the height of the icon of Christ — which measures 1.56 m, whereas that of the Virgin measures 1.60 m. — is a result of the fact that the frame of the former was cut both at the top and at the bottom. To these top and bottom parts were later added thin pieces of wood, which, however, were not able to make up the initial dimensions, as we can see, by comparing them with the raised frame which has been preserved almost in its entirety on the two lateral sides of the icon, and which is wider by 0.03 m.

In addition, both icons had been painted over, most probably in the same period and by the same workshop, as is suggested by the comparison of the elements of these interventions, which can be discerned in the photographs of the works taken before their restoration. Straight white lines in clusters, or curved ones elsewhere, originally emphasised harshly the lights on the faces in both icons, along the right side of the nose, at the base and around the nostrils.

The same lines also marked the folds of the neck and the inside corner of the eyes. After their removal from the Virgin's face, the original manner in which the above features had been rendered was revealed, and was seen to have been that with which we are familiar from certain 15th-century works: namely the hazy highlights and the absence of outlines and hard lines. On the contrary, when the overpainting was removed from the icon of Christ, many of the painted lights were found to be gen-

uine and Palaeologan in origin. This indicates, on the one hand, the chronological difference between the two works and, on the other hand, their parallel fate from a certain point in time on, and their position most probably on the same iconostasis, since, at the time they were painted over in the same manner, elements of the older icon of Christ were also transferred to the icon of the Virgin.

Bibliography: G. Sotiriou, *Οδηγός Βυζαντινού Μουσείου* 1931(, p.80. Baltoyianni 1994, pp.23-33.

1. G. Sotiriou 1931 (p.80. Chatzidakis 1969, p.8. Chatzidakis 1977, pp.83-84. *From Byzantium to El Greco* 1987, no.20, pp.159-160, pl.20 (N. Chatzidakis). *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.30, p.193, pl.30 (N. Chatzidakis).

62. The Nativity belonging to the former Volpi Collection.

London. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.665 x 0.64 m.

15th century.

Pls.115, 116, 117.



The icon, now in a private collection in London, represents the Nativity and is one of the most important examples of early Cretan icon painting presenting a particularly interesting iconography.

Around the main theme — the Virgin, half-reclining on her pallet and turned to the left, and the newborn Infant, wrapped in swaddling clothes, already being warmed by the breath of the two familiar animals in the manger — is deployed the entire composition, made up of the episodes following the event of the Nativity according to the Gospel of St. Luke (2:8-21).

On the upper part of the representation, beneath the blue vault of the firmament and to the left of a twin-peaked rock, are shown the angels singing praises. They are depicted in a standing position and with their hands in an attitude of supplication. Opposite them, on the flat part of the right side of the jagged rock, a group of angels, their hands covered by their himation, kneel in prayer. Lower down, and still around the central theme are pic-

tured another two episodes of the Nativity. On the left, below the opening of a sharp towering rock pierced with caves, are seen the three wise men on horseback while, in the corresponding position on the right, is depicted the Annunciation to the Shepherds, which here is represented by a single standing shepherd, turning his back to the viewer and hearing the good tidings in amazement. Beside him and on the left, a small shepherd boy is comfortably seated on a flat part of the rock, happily playing his flute. The remaining two episodes, that of the newborn Infant's bath and that of Joseph being told of the miracle by the shepherd, are portrayed in the lower part of the painting.

The scene, which is very similar to the representation of the Nativity in the fresco of the Peribleptos in Mystras, in which also figure the sheer, pointed peaks of the rocks and the gaping caves, presents certain differences from the latter in details which prove the existence of a different but parallel Palaeologan model. Our icon shows the same economy of composition as the Nativity of the Peribleptos, with the main theme in the centre, the carolling angels placed on the left and right of the summit of the rock over the grotto, the Magi on horseback on the left, the scene of the bath, with the midwife testing the water, Joseph seated on the right, and the standing shepherd before him, clad in his sheepskin cape and leaning on his staff.

The differences between the Peribleptos fresco and this exquisite representation reside mainly in the position of the Virgin, who in our icon is lying higher up on her palliasse, and has her right hand in

front of her breast - instead of, as she is emotively portrayed in the *Peribleptos*, under her face - while her left hand holds the end of her maphorion. This gesture of the Virgin's left hand, favoured by western artists and in particular by the 14th-century Sienese workshops,² is also familiar to the painter of our icon, who applies the feature in compliance, most probably, with the wishes of a Catholic client.

The representation also presents a difference from the Nativity of the *Peribleptos* - which fresco it reproduces faithfully otherwise - in the scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Here, as we have already said, the episode is rendered by the portrayal of a single shepherd, shown standing with his back turned to the viewer, and gazing at the angel bringing the good tidings and lifting his left hand in wonder. His large shepherd's hat has slipped backwards onto the nape of his neck. To the representation in our icon has also been added, below and on the right, a genre scene, in which a herd of sheep drink from the running water of a spring gushing from a depression in the rock.

The latter elements, as well as the gesture of the Virgin with her right hand before her breast - elements included among the choices of Sienese 14th-century painters - become established conventional features, as we have said before, in a small series of Cretan icons of the 15th century on the same theme, the most important of which are considered to be the Nativity in the Hermitage Museum,³ the Nativity in Venice,⁴ and icon no. T2447⁵ of the Byzantine Museum, which is also of interest because of certain other features it presents.

Stylistically, the Palaeologan iconography of our representation is rendered through the use of Palaeologan artistic means, which on some points seem to yield their place to the new - as yet unformulated - principles of Cretan painting which are foreshadowed here. The whole atmosphere of the work remains Palaeologan: the restless composition without borders or frames, the delicacy in the attitudes and movements of the figures, the luminous faces, the quick and painterly modelling of the flesh, the physiognomic traits which lend brightness to the still Palaeologan figures, are all elements which are characteristic of the Palaeologan style of painting.

Among the Cretan elements of the icon, despite their parallel application in Sienese painting, we would include the more static and monumental position and attitude of the Virgin and the tighter contour of her face, the expression of which is devoid of the intense emotionality that characterises the corresponding figure in the *Peribleptos*. Joseph, too, is one of the Cretan figures of the representation as, for his portrayal, has been chosen the Cretan iconographic element of the draped end of the himation,

which is shown falling back behind his shoulder. Cretan, too, are the figures of the angels in the first row on the left, who have been deployed in orderly array, and whose movements are identical and repeated. On the other hand, elements borrowed from western painting, such as the gently sloping landscape adorned with ultramarine designs surrounding the central theme, show that 15th-century Cretan icon painters were open to western influences, which suited the particular aesthetic preferences of their Creto-Venetian clients.

Moreover, the colour scheme of the work, ranging from ochre-yellows to ochre-greens, with the few complementary soft carmine red touches, the few, but also bright patches of red around the red pallet of the Virgin, and the purple colour of her maphorion - repeated in a very small area in the himation of the middle Wise Man - is one we have already met in the Cretan painting of the 15th century. The ochre-green of the grass, thinned and decorated with ultramarine designs, the rosy carmine colour with the highlights, passing imperceptibly to lighter hues and finally to white, and the emphasized purple colour, are all applied in the icon of the enthroned Christ in *Zakynthos*⁶ signed by Angelos. All these colours can be found applied more discreetly in the group of frescoes of the 14th century of the *Vrontission*, which constitutes yet another intimation of the coming developments in Cretan painting.

However, beyond the stylistic and iconographic interest it presents, the icon of the former Volpi collection also includes another important element which makes the representation a valuable one as regards the interpretation of the Nativity and its more particular meaning, here. This is the large, luminous, blue-grey cross, the vertical axis of which is poised - in the likeness of a sword - over the manger sheltering the newborn Christ.

This element, a rare one in early Byzantine iconography (see examples in the introductory note of the *Kardiotissa*), constitutes an *unicum* in the iconography of Palaeologan and post-Byzantine painting, since it does not appear to be repeated in any of the earlier or later examples of the Nativity. The application, here, of this element, is perhaps proof of the existence of another message in the Nativity, and one most probably related to the future Passion of Christ. The reference to the Passion at the very moment of the Christ Child's birth appears to complement and legitimise the Incarnation and its soteriological import.

The beginnings of this apposition are very old and it is often alluded to in homilies and hymns already since the time of the first patristic texts, which influence the iconography of the Nativity correspondingly. Often incorporated in the Byzantine

iconography expressing the meaning of the Passion is the joyful event of the Nativity. Along with the exultant hymns of the carolling angels, the good tidings brought to the shepherds and the proclamation of "good will" to men, the message of the future Passion of the newborn Christ becomes, it too, a joyful element, implying, as it does, the salvation of humankind. Among the most expressive - and perhaps the most beautiful - texts promising the salvation of mankind through the future Passion of the incarnated Infant of the Nativity is the well-known Kontakion "Εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν Γέννησιν", composed by Romanus the Melodist, in which Christ announces to his mother the Passion to come, revealing at the same time its soteriological role: "Weep not, mother, over what thou knowest not; for if this come not to pass/all those on whose behalf thou supplicatest me shall be lost".⁷

Bibliography: Garisson 1949, p.114, no.293. Chatzidakis 1962, p.30. Lazareff 1966, p.49, ill.51. Lazarev 1967, p.407, ill.574a. Th. Chatzidakis 1982, no.10.

zarev 1967, p.407, ill.574a. Th. Chatzidakis 1982, no.10.

1. Millet 1910, pl.118. The representation, with small iconographic differences, is found also in the Pantanassa in Mystras. See op.cit. pl.139.

2. Millet 1916, p.105, pl.45.

3. Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, pl.129B.

4. Chatzidakis 1962, pp.30-31, pl.17 and coloured pl.V.

5. *Εἰκόνες τῆς Κρητικῆς Τέχνης* 1993, no.202, p.552, pl.202 (Baltoyianni).

6. Drandakis 1962, pl.386. Babic, Chatzidakis 1983, p.314, coloured pl. on p.360. *Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Μεταβυζαντινὴ Τέχνη* 1986, no.100, pp.99-101, ill.100 (Chatzidakis). *Affreschi e Icone* 1987, no.53, pp.94-95, pl.53 (Chatzidakis). *From Byzantium to El Creco* 1988, no.33, p.168, pl.33 (Chatzidakis). *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1989, no.43, p.203, pl.43 (Chatzidakis).

7. Maas, Trypanis 1963, pp.15 & 16.

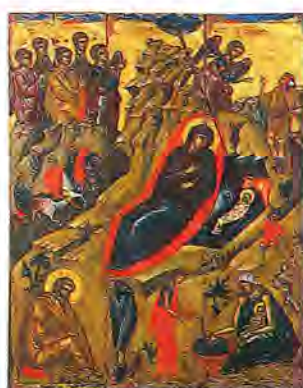
63. The Nativity.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (Α217-ΣΑ216).

Dimensions: 1.19 x 0.92 m.

15th century.

Plates 118, 119, 120, 121.



The icon of the Nativity in the Loverdos Collection (Α217-ΣΑ216), now in the Byzantine Museum, constitutes one of the important examples of 15th-century icon painting, which present an interest from the point of view also of their semantic content and iconography.

The representation follows the general iconographic scheme of a small series of Cretan icons on the same theme, the one most closely related to ours being the older Nativity of the former Volpi Collection (pl.115) which reproduces a Palaeologan model very close to the Nativity in the Peribleptos in Mystras.¹

The Virgin in the icon of the Loverdos Collection is portrayed reclining on her pallet and turned towards the Child lying in the manger in his swaddling clothes. The artist has positioned the Virgin diagonally, in the centre of the composition. She holds her right hand before her breast, and grips the edge of her maphorion with her left. Behind her rises a precipitous, three-peaked rock, on the left of which, behind a rocky landscape, can be seen the

carolling angels. On the corresponding position on the right is depicted the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The scene is rendered by depicting one of the shepherds standing, his back turned towards the viewer and lifting his left hand in a gesture of wonder. He appears to be in conversation with the angels who brings the good tidings.

Below the lauding angels, the Wise Men are seen on horseback galloping towards the grotto. On the right, below the scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, is pictured a young shepherd boy sitting cross-legged and playing his pipe. Below and on the left, Joseph sits immersed in thought, while before him stands a shepherd wrapped in his sheepskin cloak. Next to them, on the opposite side, is portrayed the midwife testing the bath water and holding the Infant in her arms, while the handmaiden, Salome, standing in front of her, helps her by pouring water into the basin.

These iconographic elements can be found in all the icons of the Cretan series, besides the Volpi icon, the most important ones being that of the Hermitage Museum,² that of the Byzantine Museum no. T2477,³ and the Venice⁴ icon (although in a different pictorial atmosphere).

In spite of the kinship of our icon with the Cretan representations of the 15th century, and in particular with the Volpi Nativity, it diverges from them in that it includes certain elements attesting to its dependence on a Palaeologan prototype, similar to the representation in the fresco of the Peribleptos in Mystras.

The differences that emerge from the comparison

of our icon with the aforementioned representations are determinative in ascribing the work to a workshop that is thoroughly conversant with Cretan painting, the artistic resources of which it uses here in order to render some other Palaeologan prototype.

The main difference between our icon and the previous works resides in the placing of the central theme diagonally in the composition, in contrast to all the other representations, where the Virgin and the Infant in the manger are placed in a central position, around which revolve all the secondary episodes of the Nativity.

Furthermore, the representation distances itself considerably from the picturesque and genre-like character of the previous works, since the sheep drinking at the spring, the deer, the little hare under the tree, the verdant landscape and the hollow rocks are all absent here.

At the same time, it is obvious that the artist is familiar with all the above elements, from which he chooses, not only those he needs to render the scene, but also those that would perhaps not change the Palaeologan character of the prototype.

Here, too, we have the precipitous rocky landscape, but without the large openings of the caves. The only opening is the entrance to the grotto, from which emerges the manger with the newborn Babe. The animals in the manger do not appear between rocky barriers at the entrance of the cave, but are placed on the right and left of the manger opposite each other. Also different is the manner in which the shepherd in the scene of the Annunciation has been rendered: in spite of his identification with the similar shepherd of the Volpi Nativity, he is now portrayed with a shepherd's bag hanging from his shoulder. There are fewer angels, since missing from our icon is the right-hand group with the kneeling angels — never absent from any other Cretan representations in this series. Differently handled also is the scene showing Joseph and the shepherd standing in front of him, which is now painted on the left, while the scene of the bath, with the midwife testing the water — depicted on the left in the Peribleptos and in the Volpi icon — is now portrayed on the right. The young shepherd boy with the flute and the branches of the tree casting their shade on his head, are present, as are the herd of sheep, which here are scattered about in various positions and movements.

Our icon presents a similar deviation from the Cretan representations also as regards its stylistic characteristics. Here, too, we can discern an eclecticism — although less manifest — in the choice and combination of elements borrowed from different prototypes and different iconographic traditions.

Joseph, a Cretan figure, evidences a Cretan choice in the way his himation is rendered, with the pointed edge behind his shoulder. His figure is combined with the extraordinarily expressive profile of the Macedonian Palaeologan features of the midwife, on the right and opposite. We note the same difference in the Infant in the Midwife's arms, who is rendered in a conventional manner, in marked contrast to that used in the portrayal of the midwife herself.

It must be noted here that the treatment of the faces presents particular interest. It leads, once again, to a Palaeologan model executed in mainland Greece but retaining a Cretan atmosphere and character. The faces are modelled in a quick and painterly way, revealing the artist's particular skill and superb technique. Over the strong green underpaint the lighted parts are modelled opaquely and thickly. Over the off-white layer of colour, blended with red to give a rosy blush, have been painted the white lights, in generous brushstrokes, without the fine, linear streaks usual in Cretan paintings. There are no outlines, and the features are delineated only by the thick white enamelling which marks the edges of the volumes around them. The luminous white lights below the eyes are deeply curved and the upper lips are also delineated by exaggeratedly wavy lines. The faces are given full youthful cheeks, the eyes dark sockets and translucent and luminous irises.

These special stylistic features appear to be connected with corresponding elements in the frescoes of the Myrtia Monastery,⁵ with which our icon presents other similarities, as well. More specifically, in the youthful figures of the Birth of the Virgin and the corresponding young virgins in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, with their full, oval faces, the green underpaint and the white wavy lines below the dark sockets of their eyes, we recognise the kinship of the latter with the equally youthful faces of the angels of our representation, without excepting the charming face of the Virgin. In the same mural programme we can recognise the eclecticism evident, also, in our representation, of the painter, who likewise combines Cretan elements with those of the Macedonian, or rather Palaeologan, tradition.

We know the frescoes of the Myrtia Monastery to have been painted in 1491 by Xenos Dighenis,⁶ who was born at Mouchli in the Peloponnese, and around 1462 served his apprenticeship in Cretan workshops, at which time he worked in Apano Floria of the district of Selino. As is evidenced by the frescoes he painted in the Myrtia Monastery and at Kato Merope,⁷ he later returned from Crete and worked in mainland Greece, having mastered and assimilated the new trends of 15th-century Cretan art.

Of interest, as regards the influences which affected the work of Xenos Digenis and his whole artistic course, is the fact that, despite the deep knowledge that he appears to have acquired during his period of training in Cretan art, Palaeologan memories, as they seem to have revived and taken shape at this time in mainland Greece, are reflected and prevail in the frescoes of the Myrtia Monastery.

It is not to be wondered at that his hand has been linked also to local monuments in mainland Greece, which, as had been claimed, influenced his work.

More particularly, it has been pointed out that the frescoes of the Myrtia Monastery are stylistically related to those of the church of the Holy Apostles of Neromana,⁸ to the painting of which we are referred by certain elements in our icon, which we can now attribute to the circle of Xenos Dighenis. In the frescoes of the above-mentioned church can also be seen the bright and luminous green underpaint of the flesh in the faces of our icon, as well as an element as yet unimportant but perhaps indicative of this relationship: besides the bright and intensely luminous colours of the frescoes of Neromana, with their deep blues and reds, which also characterise our icon, we find also the peculiar shape of the three "stars" painted on the maphorion over the forehead and the shoulders of the Virgin in our Nativity. The cross-shaped "star" with its long arms and the fleur-de-lys design between the arms is repeated on the maphorion of the Platytera in the apse of the sanctuary there. It must also be noted that the decorative motif ornamenting the band on the Virgin's pallet in our icon is not the pseudo-cufic design which we usually find in Cretan representations, but an intricate foliate scroll, which is a common motif in the mural ensembles of Palaeologan Macedonia. Among

the most closely related corresponding elements, showing the same off-white, thickly applied colour, the delicate spiralling shoots and the small leaves, are the decorative motifs on the frescoes of the Macedonian church in the Monastery of Marko.⁹

This strange combination of elements — Macedonian Palaeologan-style painting allied to Cretan pictorial means — does not simply indicate a certain historical landmark in the overall course of 15th-century post-Byzantine painting on the Greek mainland, but is specifically related to the artist's ascertained apprenticeship in Cretan workshops.

From the foregoing, we might ascribe this icon — a beautiful one from every point of view — if not to Xenos Dighenis himself, quite possibly to his circle, and date it, to the end of the 15th century, and more particularly to the period which follows the painter's return from Crete.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Millet 1910, pl.118.
2. Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, pl.129B.
3. *Εκθεση για τα εκατό χρόνια της ΧΑΕ* 1984, no.13, p.26, pl.13 (Baltoyianni).
4. Chatzidakis 1962, pp.30-31, pl.17.
5. See especially Orlandos 1961, p.99, pls.8-9. Chatzidakis 1952, p.79. Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp.550-570. Paliouras 1985, pp.116-118, coloured plate 105.
6. Vassilaki-Mavrakaki op.cit., p.550 ff.
7. Vokotopoulos 1969, pp.256-257, pls.260-261.
8. Paliouras op.cit., p.116, note 34. Kissas 1971/1972, pp.21-64.
9. Millet, Velmans 1969, pl.175.

64. The Virgin Hodegetria.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (A154-ΣA153)

Dimensions: 0.503 x 0.41 m.

15th century.

Plates 122, 123.



The Virgin holding the Child, is portrayed in half length, in the familiar Byzantine iconographic type of the Hodegetria, in the form it assumed in 15th-century Cretan icons. The new element, which, albeit with minor iconographic deviations, characterises all the Cretan reproductions of the

Byzantine triumphal type, is the emphasis on the future Passion of the Child, which substantiates his Incarnation.

The foreknowledge of the Virgin regarding the future sacrifice of her Son on the Cross, which is already indicated in the Byzantine Glykophilousa and in the more specific representation of the Virgin of the Passion, is now expressed by the Cretan workshops in all the variants of the Virgin and Child with the use of external iconographic elements as well.

From this tendency, the limited application of which already makes its appearance in the first post-iconoclastic years,¹ is not excepted the Hodegetria, who is now characterised by a marked expression of sorrow, indicative of such a meaning. The old Byzantine gravity characterising the countenance of the Virgin, which is methodically trans-

formed into an expression of profound sorrow, already becomes established in the early Cretan icons of the type produced at the beginning of the 15th century. An outstanding example of such a representation is the precious icon of the Hodegetria, in the Kapsa Monastery² in Crete, while this characteristic is particularly emphasized in later examples of 15th-century icon painting, one of the most beautiful of which is our icon.

Among the interesting elements of this icon and one that is illustrative of its new character, is that of the presence of the two half-length angels, on either side of the Virgin's halo. The element — which is not a new one — here acquires a particular importance because of the expression of ineffable sadness on the two lovely faces. Besides, the inclusion of the two angels in the iconography of the Passion becomes the rule in 15th-century painting, as is proven by their constant presence as much in the representations of the Virgin of the Passion as in the variations of the Glykophilousa with the same semantic content.

Moreover, it is not by chance that the standard iconographic features of the Hodegetria in the variation represented by our icon, such as the Virgin's right hand before her breast, are incorporated into the Cretan iconography of the Virgin of the Passion. Besides, this same variant of the Byzantine Hodegetria is itself used as a model by the early Cretan workshops for the creation of a related type, in which the Child is swathed in a sash (see relevant interpretative note). The contrary also occurs: that is, at the same time, and in the same workshops, certain elements of the Virgin of the Passion are incorporated into the Hodegetria — the way in which the Virgin's maphorion is draped on her right shoulder, for instance, or the triangular opening of the garment over the breast, through which can be seen her chiton, which comes all the way up to the neck.

Stylistically, the representation belongs among the most beautiful expressions of the fully mature Cretan School of the second half of the 15th century, and incorporates several elements borrowed from the paintings of the highly accomplished artist of the time, Andreas Ritzos. The handling of the facial features of the two angels — very similar to that of the angels above the Trani³ Glykophilousa — the punched decoration of the haloes of the two main figures of the representations, which is the same in both these icons, the faultless execution of the entire work, which is a salient characteristic of the icons produced by this Cretan artist, the solid modelling of the flesh with the luminous underpaint of translucent sienna, the soft, lighter tones on the edges of the luminous volumes and the fine but solid brushstrokes, which refer us to the practices and

methods of the same artist, and, finally, the perfectly disposed geometric folds of the Virgin's maphorion around the opening in the shape of a *scudo veneto*, at the breast, all argue in favour of the attribution of our icon if not to Andreas Ritzos himself, at least to his circle. The affinity of the work with the style of this group is also apparent in the similarity of the representation with that of the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria at the Camposanto Teutonico in Rome,⁴ signed by Ritzos, with the icon of Trieste⁵ and with that of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna⁶ all of which have been attributed to the same artist. The Hodegetria of the Byzantine Museum presents a particular affinity with the Trieste icon, not only in its stylistic and iconographic features but also in other individual details.

Of interest as regards the above-mentioned relationship between the two representations is the absolutely identical — and unusual — portrayal of the very intricate and peculiarly shaped folds of the Child's himation, which are indicated here only by dense gold striations.

In both works, also, the wooden panel has a slightly raised frame around the representation, and the entire composition is disposed within it in the same manner and with the same empty spaces in the gold ground.

Bibliography: Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1946, no.154. *Affreschi e Icone* 1986, no.59, p.102, pl.102 (Baltoyianni). *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, no.207, pp.557-559, pl.207 (Baltoyianni).

1. See the sketch of the Virgin and Child in the Chludov Psalter (Schepkina 1977, f. 162v), where the Child's crossed legs emphasize even more strongly the particular meaning of the icon, which is related to the future Passion of Christ.

2. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, no.147, pp.502-503, pl.147 (Borboudakis).

3. D'Elia 1964, pp.101-102. Calò 1968, pp.19-20. Calò 1969, pp.21-22. Chatzidakis 1977, pp.92-93. Baltoyianni 1985, pp.128-130. *Icône di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, no.44, pp.139-140, pl.44 (Gelao).

4. Cattapan 1973, pl.Z'2 (there mistakenly pl. Δ'1). Czerwenka-Papadopoulos 1984, p.204, pl.1.

5. Cattapan op.cit., pl.Δ'1 (there mistakenly Z'2). Bianco Fiorin 1975, no.10. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos op.cit., p.204, pl.3.

6. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos op.cit., pp.203-212. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos 1993, no.53.

65. The Virgin Hodegetria.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (A512-ΣA445).

Dimensions: 0.68 x 0.54 m.

Late 15th-early 16th century.

Plates 124, 125, 126, 127.



The Virgin is portrayed in half length, and in the iconographic type of the Hodegetria favoured by the Cretan workshops of the 15th century, with the Child turned towards his mother. She wears the maphorion familiar to us from the Cretan reproductions of the type, with its triangular

opening over the bosom, in the shape of a *scudo veneto*, through which is visible a part of her deep blue chiton trimmed along the neckline, with gold edging, which meets and ties in the middle leaving the ends loose. She holds the Christ Child on her left arm and lifts her right hand in front of her breast. She inclines her head slightly towards the Child and her gaze is directed towards some distant point beyond the viewer.

The Child is seated upright, and turns his face towards his mother. His right hand is raised in blessing while in his left hand, resting on his knee, he holds a closed scroll. Above, on either side of the Virgin's plain incised halo, are depicted the two angels in half length, who are shown with their hands covered by their himation in an attitude of worship.

On the bottom part of the icon is seen the signature ΧΕΙΡ ΗΛΙΑ ΜΟΣΚΟΥ and the date, αχξγ (1663), inscriptions which have been proved to be forged. On the left, on the gold ground, is inscribed the epithet Η ΑΜΟΛΥΝΤΟC, which usually accompanies the representation of the Virgin of the Passion.

This epithet does not seem to have been applied fortuitously and our icon, despite its faithful reproduction of the iconographic type of the Hodegetria in its main and determinative elements, presents an iconographic affinity with the Virgin of the Passion (see introductory note on the type).

Among the familiar features of the Cretan Virgin of the Passion, as the representation appears in icons of the 15th and 16th centuries, is the manner in which the Virgin has been portrayed in half length, turned towards the Child in the same way as in the Virgin of the Passion, with the same inclination of her head and the same disposition of her maphorion which, as in our icon, is draped on the right shoulder in deep, parallel and diagonal geometric folds. Also following the same iconographic scheme is its

triangular opening in front, which here, as in all the icons of the Virgin of the Passion has the shape of a *scudo veneto*. Similar, too, is the position and style of the two angels, whose deeply sorrowful countenance expresses, in its own way, the common semantic content of the two representations. Besides, the entire atmosphere of the work is imbued with gravity and deep symbolic meaning.

The above correlations and the particular iconographic elements of the representation class the work among a series of similar Cretan icons of the 15th century, such as the Hodegetria in Trieste,¹ the Virgin in Vienna² and the icon in the Loverdos Collection (pl.122), which have been attributed to the workshop of Andreas Ritzos.

However, the icon presents a particular kinship with the icon of the Hodegetria in the Camposanto Teutonico in Rome,³ signed by Andreas Ritzos, with which it is similar in both its iconography and its physiognomic traits. In the Hodegetria by Ritzos we find the beginnings of certain particular features of our icon, such as the ample and richly draped maphorion of the Virgin, the elliptical gold planes over the knees of the Christ Child, the entire disposition of the gold striations of his himation, as well as the marked curvature of his right cheek.

With the Vienna Virgin our icon presents similarities not only as regards the iconography, but also in the particular treatment of the Child, with his long neck and markedly oval face.

Despite the similarities which our icon presents with the Hodegetria by Ritzos and with the two icons which have been attributed to him, certain of its advanced elements place it within the circle of his workshop. We observe here, especially, the conventionalised expression of the Child, whose features have lost the liveliness of Ritzos' figures, and also the poorer artistic means of the work.

Bibliography: Acheimastou-Potamianou, ΑΔ 38 (1983), *Χρονικά*, p.6, pl.6b.

1. Frausin, Nikolaidi 1963, no.1, p.19. Cattapan 1973, p.277, pl. Δ'1 (erroneously identified there as pl.Ζ'2). Bianco Fiorin 1975, p.8, ill.4. Cattapan 1977, p.224. Bianco Fiorin 1978, no.10. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos 1984, p.204, pl.3. Bianco Fiorin 1985, no.184, ill.184. *Affreschi e Icone* 1986, p.102. N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.8, p.46, pl. on p.49.

2. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos op.cit., p.203-212. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos 1993, no.56.

3. Cattapan op.cit., pl.Ζ'2 (erroneously identified there as pl.Δ'1). Czerwenka-Papadopoulos op.cit., p.204, pl.1.

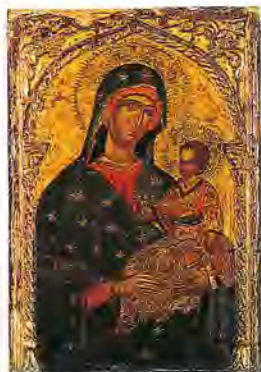
66. The Virgin and Child.

Athens, Private collection.

Dimensions: 0.70 x 0.49 m.

First half of the 15th century.

Pls. 128, 129, 130.



The representation is depicted on a gold ground and under an ogee arch of the same panel, inscribed within a rectangular frame. The arch rests on the capitals of two spiralling colonnettes, on the inside of the two sides of the rectangular frame. In the spandrels on the upper part is carved a foliate decoration in relief, with a cross-shaped rosette in the centre of each.

The Virgin is depicted from the thighs up holding the Christ Child on her left side and in both arms. She inclines her head slightly towards the Child and her gaze is directed beyond the viewer. She is clad in a deep blue maphorion adorned with gold "stars", which covers her head and shoulders with its soft folds and crosses over the bosom leaving a small, pointed triangular opening in the front.

Her red, gold-embroidered chiton, part of which can be seen through the opening of the maphorion, forms an open angle at the base of the neck. Her fillet is also golden - red, as are the cuffs of her sleeved chiton. A simple gold band edged with gems runs along the hem of her maphorion, except for the part which covers her right shoulder, where the band becomes wider, and is adorned with summarily-drawn pseudo-cufic gold motifs and a long, thick fringe.

The Christ Child is seated upright, turned three quarters towards his mother. His right hand is raised in blessing, while in his left hand he holds a closed scroll in a vertical position. He is clad in an off-white sleeved chiton with a deep blue draped sash, lighted by thick gold streaks. To this sash come down the wide golden red bands covering his shoulders. His richly draped himation, with the dense gold striations on the wheat-coloured ground, falls to his waist, from where its rounded end escapes downwards towards the right.

The iconographic particularities of the representation - chiefly the pointed triangular opening of the Virgin's maphorion, and the triangular shape of the edge of her chiton at the base of the neck, the similar shape of the Child's chiton at the same point, the particular way in which his facial features have been rendered, as well as the manner in which he holds the scroll downwards - are encountered in a

few parallel examples of similar representations in 14th- and 15th-century icons, with which our icon also shares other common features.

The oldest known representation with the Virgin holding the Child in both arms and following the iconographic type with the aforementioned particularities, is the Palaeologan icon in the Archaeological Museum in Rhodes.¹ There, the Virgin is clad in a crimson maphorion and a dark green chiton of the same shape as the one in our icon, and is rendered with Palaeologan stylistic means which assign the work to a workshop dependent on Constantinopolitan painting and date it to the middle of the 14th century. The icon is double-sided, and portrays St. Luke the Evangelist on the reverse.

A repetition of the type with indications of a later date is the icon of the Virgin bearing the epithet "Η ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΙΚΛΩΟΣ", from the side chapel of the Cathedral of Kos,² in which, as has been observed,³ there is a church dedicated to the Virgin Gorgoepeikoos. The icon of Kos, which is also double-sided, is closely connected with the icon of Rhodes, and has been dated to the 15th century. Presenting the same iconographic features is also the representation of the Virgin and Child in the central panel of a triptych in the Correr Museum in Venice⁴ (pl.132).

To return to our icon, we must mention here that, besides its kinship with representations connected with Rhodes, it also presents other elements which substantiate the view regarding its provenance from this island. The icon, as we have said before, has a raised frame of the same panel in low relief that is very close in form to similar frames surrounding doors and other openings in buildings of the first and second period of the Knights in Rhodes.

The interior arched frame of the icon, within which the representation has been painted, presents a particular interest. As we know, arches dating both from the early 15th century and from after 1480 — at which time the second architectural period of the island conventionally begins — surround the doors of the main entrances and the openings of windows, often in the form of multiple frames in the shape of an ogee arch.

Among the oldest and perhaps most beautiful of these frames is that surrounding the portal on the eastern façade of the Hospital of the Knights, which bears the heraldic emblem of the Grand Master Fluvian and has been dated, on the basis of the patronal inscription, to 1445.⁵

Older by a century, and at any rate dated to not later than 1346, is believed to be the door frame of the southern façade of the Palace of the Grand Master, also in the shape of an ogee arch.⁶ This architectural element is one of the characteristic features of the French Flamboyant style of the period, from

which the architecture of Rhodes of the time of the Knights borrowed other elements as well.⁷

A second interesting feature of the carved wooden frame of the icon is the twisted braid design of the arch, which is repeated also in the colonnettes, on the capitals of which it rests. This twisted braid also constitutes one of the characteristics of Rhodian 15th-century architecture and is applied in most of the door frames and window openings of this period,⁸ without being completely given up after that, as is proven by its presence in the houses of Lindos dating from the 17th and 18th century.⁹

Finally, the arch inscribed within an external rectangular frame, as is the case in our icon, is a common feature both in the architecture of Rhodes and in the appearance of the heraldic elements on the island, which are often depicted within such a frame.¹⁰

On the basis of this known application of the above-mentioned elements in Rhodian 15th-century architecture, in the time of the Knights, we shall ascribe to a workshop of the island not only our icon — which copies the iconography of Palaeologan works of the time — but also the icon of the Museum of Ravenna,¹¹ in which the Virgin and Child are portrayed in a Gothic iconographic style and technique, but within exactly the same kind of slightly raised, relief frame.

This, we believe, means that icons were being produced in Rhodes by local workshops of the 15th and 16th centuries, using practices and methods not entirely similar to those of the Cretan workshops of the same period.

The same iconographic type of the Virgin Hodegetria has been discovered by Gordana Babić in a double-sided icon of the Chilandari Monastery, which depicts the Crucifixion on the reverse.¹² The icon of the Chilandari Monastery presents all the features of the Rhodian icon, and, according to the relative study,¹³ the manuscript of which was kindly lent to me by the eminent Byzantinologist, it has been dated to between 1360 and 1370 and is a faithful copy of the miracle-working icon of the Eikosiphoenissa.

We now tend to believe that the representation of the icon of Rhodes, which is repeated in the Gorgopikoos of Kos, in our icon, in the icon of the Correr Museum and also in that of the icon of the Virgin Eikosiphoenissa, which is reproduced in the icon of Chilandari, most probably derives from a miracle-working icon existing in Constantinople, where there was a church dedicated to the Virgin Gorgopikoos.

Stylistically our icon, with its corresponding specific elements, constitutes an example of the combination of different iconographic traditions and of a particular eclecticism. The long, markedly oval face

of the Virgin, her narrow eyes, the low arches of her eyebrows, the small mouth, the full lips in a rosy-ochre colour, the long and large nose, constitute characteristic features of a Palaeologan face, as we find it represented in icons of the 14th century.¹⁴ In the same style also is the sturdily-built Child with his broad chest, intense gaze and the quick painterly modelling of the flesh, particularly that of the hands and soles of the feet. Also recalling the Palaeologan technique is the luminous green underpaint on the face of the Virgin, particularly, the large luminous planes and the red blush on her cheeks. Similarly modelled are the white lights on the bridge of the nose and the complex design below the eyes.

Drawing from a different tradition and indicating a particular choice is the starry design on the blue, softly draped maphorion of the Virgin, and the luminous red of her chiton and fillet. Also indicative of a different origin is the gem-studded band which runs along the hem of her maphorion. The blue maphorion of the Virgin, a feature of Byzantine painting, constitutes one of the basic elements in the Western iconography of the 14th and 15th centuries. Pictured in marked contrast with a red complement, it is encountered in Gothic painting, in particular in the works produced by French workshops and, more especially, in manuscript illumination. In the same artistic environment is encountered also the predilection for a starry ornamentation,¹⁵ examples of which are also connected with Rhodes; we would mention, as a case in point, the miniatures of the French Caursin manuscript (cod.Par.Lat.6067) showing scenes of the life in the palace of the Grand Master.¹⁶ Another feature generally applied in Gothic painting in France during the 14th and 15th century is that of the gem-studded bands, in the simple form they assume on the edging of the Virgin's maphorion in our icon, examples of which we can find both in the Caursin manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,¹⁷ and in certain paintings on wood. Among the most indicative of these is the Berlin tondo, which has been ascribed to the schools of Dijon or of Paris,¹⁸ and has been dated to around 1400. It represents the Coronation of the Virgin, and we find there the same decorated band on the hem of the Virgin's maphorion.

Having confirmed the presence of French art of the Gothic period in Rhodes, we shall attribute these peculiar features of our icon to a Greek workshop in Rhodes, closely acquainted with certain western paintings, which were introduced, to the island as is most probable, by the Frankish knights.

On the basis of this same theory, we shall assign to a workshop in Rhodes another important icon of the Correr Museum,¹⁹ which, in spite of its marked

Gothic features, has been attributed to a Greek artist of the 14th century.

There the Virgin is portrayed in a markedly Gothicising style, with a round luminous face, narrow eyes and delicately arched and emphasized eyebrows. Her Western-style veil falls in undulating, diaphanous folds, as it emerges from beneath her head covering, and her embroidered sleeved chiton also follows the western style. She holds the Child on her right arm and is turned in a three quarters position towards the left.

Despite the above western features, the kinship of this icon with ours is obvious. The Virgin is portrayed, here too, from the knees up and holding the Child in the same manner, on her right arm. With her left she supports his knee. She is clad in the same deep blue maphorion adorned with gold "stars" and she inclines her head deeply towards her son. The differences we observe as we compare the two representations - such as the more strongly marked westernising character of the icon in the Correr Museum - do not stand in the way of the attribution of the latter to a workshop in Rhodes, similar and contemporaneous to the one that produced our icon.

This last observation indicates perhaps that the same prototype was copied using different artistic means, a fact which can be explained by the multi-form influences affecting Rhodian artists, as a result of the equally varied composition of the society of the Knights of Rhodes.²⁰

It is perhaps not premature to suggest that the prototype for the reproduction of the type of the Virgin must be sought in the double-sided Palaeologan icon of Rhodes, which is faithfully reproduced by the double-sided icon of Kos.

With the addition of newer elements borrowed from Gothic art, the iconographic type is repeated in our icon, in the triptych of the Correr Museum and — in a variation — in the second Gothicising icon of the same Museum. The repetition, besides, of the same frame in the Greek icon of the Museum of Ravenna - also a Gothicising one and of a different iconographic type - which contains elements of an advanced period, argues for the survival - if nothing else - of this tradition in the 16th century.

Finally, on the basis of the foregoing, we shall ascribe our icon, with its still marked Palaeologan elements and the tentative application of French Gothicising features, to the middle of the 15th century, a period during which the Frenchman Fluvian is Grand Master on the island of Rhodes.

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2. *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1986, no.89, p.88, ill.89 (Acheimastou-Potamianou).

3. Op.cit.

4. Mariacher 1957, pp.138-139, ill. on p.139.

5. Gabriel 1923, p.24, ill.15.

6. Gabriel op.cit., p.12, ill.6.

7. Michel 1907, pp.91-94.

8. Gabriel op.cit., p.131, ill.93.

9. Montesanto 1930, ill. on pp.20, 21, 25, 31, 47.

10. Poitiers 1984, ill.19.

11. Angiolini-Martinelli 1982, no.20, p.94.

12. It must be noted here that our icon was also a double-sided one, as has been proven by the laboratory research carried out by Stavros Baltoyiannis, which soon revealed that the width of the panel, which does not exceed a few millimetres, is only a part of the original icon, which was most probably at some time divided into two.

13. Babić, "Quelques observations concernant l'icône de la Vierge Kosinitza", volume produced by the National Technical University to honour the memory of Doula Mouriki (in press).

14. Chatzidakis, Babić 1983, pl. on p.179.

15. *L'art européen vers 1400*, 1962, p.415, ill.41. A carved triptych, on the central panel of which appears the Western iconographic representation of the Akra Tapeinosis, in which the dead Christ is shown between the Virgin and St. John. The Virgin's maphorion is decorated with stars. The triptych is in the Museum of Chartres; op.cit., p.91, ill.81.

16. Kollias 1988, ill.78 The footstool of the Grand Master is in a deep blue colour and decorated with white stars.

17. Kollias op.cit., ill. 76, 77, 78. In all three miniatures the gem-studded band adorns the edges of the curtain behind the throne of the Grand Master.

18. *L'art européen vers 1400* op.cit., p.91, ill.81.

19. Mariacher, op.cit., p.136, ill. on p.136.

20. It is interesting to note, as regards the assignment of the work to a particular workshop, that, in spite of its markedly Gothicising appearance, the "a la greca" features of the icon were recognised at quite an early date. See Mariacher 1957, p.136.

67. The Virgin and Child.

Central panel of a triptych.

Venice. Correr Museum (no.383).

Dimensions: 0.87 x 1.30 m.

15th century.

Plates 131, 132, 133a-b.



The Virgin is portrayed on the central panel of a triptych below a carved arch resting on two spiralling colonnettes, set within the rectangular frame of the icon.

In the spandrels on either side of the arch are inscribed the letters MHP ΘΥ. The Virgin is turned in a three quarters position towards the Child, whom she holds on her left arm, and towards whom she slightly inclines her head. With her right hand she touches his feet. The Christ Child is seated with his upper body quite straight, as he blesses, and holds his closed scroll in a vertical position.

The entire representation reproduces a well-known Palaeologan iconographic formula, very close to the type of the Virgin Hodegetria, and deviating from the latter only in the detail of the right hand of the Virgin, which is not held before her breast, but rests on the knees of the Christ Child. Despite its iconographic identification with Palaeologan icons of the same iconographic type,¹ the Virgin on the central panel of the triptych of the Correr Museum presents particularities which assign it to an iconographic type known to us from the icon of the Virgin in Rhodes,² from that in Kos,³ the icon in Kosi-nitsa, and the double-sided icon of the Chilandari Monastery⁴ which copies it. In all the icons of the same type, the Virgin's maphorion is characterised by a wide triangular opening in front, through which can be seen her chiton, which comes all the way up to the neck in a wide V shape. The Christ Child, seated with his body upright, is clad, in all of these icons, in a chiton with a red sash around his waist, at which point it meets the wide red bands coming down from his shoulders. The particular elements which are applied here are the Child's closed scroll, in a vertical position, and the peculiar disposition of his hair with the short curls in parallel rows.

This particular iconographic representation of the Virgin and Child, as much in the Correr Museum Triptych as in the remaining icons of the same type, was believed to have had as its prototype the well-known icon of Kosinitsa. The presence, however, of this iconographic type in the Palaeologan icon of Rhodes, with its Constantinopolitan ele-

ments, in the icon in a private collection in Athens (pl.128) which has been attributed to a workshop in Rhodes, and in the icon in Kos of the Gorgoepeikoos to whom was dedicated a Byzantine monastery in Constantinople, leads us to adopt the view that the representation originated from the imperial Capital and that it was painted particularly frequently in the region of Rhodes, to a workshop of which island we shall attribute also the icon of the Correr Museum.

The representation here, in combination with the remaining themes of the two side panels of the triptych, offers, we believe, other elements which also point to a Rhodian origin of the icon we are examining. The iconographic type of the Palaeologan icon of Rhodes is reproduced, both in the manner in which the Child is rendered and in the individual iconographic features it presents here.

Besides this, on the side panels of the triptych of the Correr Museum are painted within arched compartments and from top to bottom: on the left, St. Nicholas, St. Anthony and St. Procopius and, below, in smaller compartments, three figures of apostles. On the right panel again from top to bottom, are portrayed the Virgin and Christ in the western theme of the *Pietà*, St. John the Baptist, St. James and another three apostles, which completes the set of apostles (the remaining six being portrayed on the bottom part of the central panel).

We believe that certain particular features of the themes depicted refer us to iconographic choices proper to the region of the Eastern Aegean, owing perhaps also to the proximity of the Holy Land and of the city of Jerusalem. Among the representations suggesting such an hypothesis we might mention the figure of St. James, the apostle and son of Zebedee, who is revered and worshipped particularly in the islands of the Aegean because of his kinship with the beloved saint of Patmos, St. John the Theologian, who was his brother.⁵

As we know, St. James is often portrayed in important icons in the Monastery of St. John the Theologian, on Patmos, such as in the Byzantine icon of the 12th-century⁶, and in at least another three post-Byzantine ones: on a miniature scale, together with St. John, on the upper part of the well-known icon of Hosios Christodoulos,⁷ founder of the monastery; again in the same format, together with the Blessed Christodoulos in the enthroned Virgin signed by Andreas Ritzos;⁸ and once more on the upper part of an icon of the Theologian dating from the 17th century.⁹

Owing to some confusion with the apostle, we also find appearing in certain frescoes and icons in Patmos the figure of St. James the Less, brother of Jesus and first bishop of Jerusalem. It should be noted here that a 16th-century icon representing the

enthroned patriarch James, the Brother of Jesus, as the inscription¹⁰ tells us, nevertheless portrays the saint with an open book in which is inscribed a text from the epistle of St. James (1:19-21). The latter's features have been used to render the other James, the Brother of Jesus. The confusion - deliberate or not - between these two different saints in the icons of the Monastery is perhaps indicative of the close relations of the latter with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which are also confirmed by other sources.¹¹

Indicative, moreover, of a connection of the triptych of the Correr Museum with the islands of the Eastern Aegean and with Jerusalem is the depiction, on the left side panel, of St. Procopius, who hailed from Jerusalem and who was also particularly revered in these islands. A representation of the saint exists in the Holy of Holies in Patmos,¹² as well as in a series of icons of the Monastery of Mount Sinai, among which, at least one has been connected to a workshop on Cyprus.¹³

Finally, a particular reference to Rhodes is also suggested by the resemblance of St. James, as he is portrayed in the triptych, to St. Luke the Evangelist, as he is depicted on the other side of the Palaeologan icon of Rhodes.

The remaining figures appearing on the panels of the triptych, moreover, are also included among the iconographic choices of the Aegean Archipelago: namely, St. John the Baptist, who was particularly revered by the Knights of St. John in Rhodes, St. Nicholas, whose presence on the island is partic-

ularly important, and the representation of the western *Pietà* which refers us to the Holy Sepulchre and, by extension, to the Knights of Rhodes.

Bibliography: Mariacher 1957, pp.138-139, ill. on p.139 where also find the previous bibliography.

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5. Mouriki 1987/1988, p.254.
6. Chatzidakis 1977, no.4, pl.3. Doula Mouriki (op.cit.) identifies the saint with James, the son of Zebedee, brother of John and one of the apostles.
7. Chatzidakis op.cit., no.17, pl.84.
8. Chatzidakis, op.cit., no.10, pl.12.
9. Chatzidakis op.cit., no.110, pl.160.
10. Chatzidakis op.cit., no.98, pl.147.
11. Mouriki op.cit.
12. Chatzidakis op.cit., p.162, note 4.
13. G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.188; 1958 p.171.



Pl. 100. The Virgin Hodegetria (no.55). Rome. Private Collection. Second half of the 15th century.



Pl. 101. Detail of pl. 100



Pl. 102. Detail of pl. 100



Pl. 103. The Virgin Hodegetria (no.59). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T77). First quarter of the 16th century.



Pl. 104. The Virgin Hodegetria (no.56). Athens. Private Collection. Third quarter of the 15th century.



Pl. 105. Detail of pl. 104



Pl. 106. The Virgin Hodegetria (no.57). Thessalonike. Private Collection. Third quarter of the 15th century.



Pl. 107. Detail of pl. 106

Pl. 108. Detail of pl. 106





Pl. 109. Detail of pl. 106



Pl. 110. The Virgin Hodegetria (no.58). Athens. Private Collection. Second half of the 15th century

Pl. 111. Detail of pl. 110





Pl. 112. The Virgin Hodegetria (no.60). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T2311). End of the 15th century.



Pl. 113. Detail of pl.112.



Pl. 114. The Virgin Hodegetria (no.61). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T186). 15th century.



Pl. 115. The Nativity of the former Volpi Collection (no.62). London. Private Collection. 15th century.



Pl. 116. Detail of pl. 115



Pl. 117. Detail of pl. 115



Pl. 118. Nativity (no.63). Athens. Byzantine Museum (Α217-ΣΑ216). 15th century.

Pl. 119. Detail of pl. 118





Pl. 120. Detail of pl. 118

Pl. 121. Detail of pl. 118





Pl. 122. The Virgin Hodegetria (no.64). Athens. Byzantine Museum (A154-ΣA153). 15th century.



Pl. 123. Detail of pl.122.



Pl. 124. The Virgin Hodegetria (no.65). Athens. Byzantine Museum (A512-ΣΑ445). Late 15th - early 16th century.

Pl. 125. Detail of pl.124.





Pl. 126. Detail of pl. 124



Pl. 127. Detail of pl. 124



Pl. 128. Virgin and Child (no.66). Athens. Private Collection. First half of the 15th century.

Pl. 129. Detail of pl. 128







Pl. 131. Virgin and Child. Central panel of a triptych (no.67). Venice. Correr Museum. 15th century.



Pl. 132. Detail of pl. 131



Pl. 133 a-b. Details of pl. 131



The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*. Iconographic type and variants.

The representation of the Virgin as *Madre della Consolazione*¹ in the Italo-Cretan icons of the 15th century is mainly characterised by the particular position and movement of the Christ Child in his mother's arms. In this iconographic type the Child is usually portrayed in marked *contrapposto*, with his legs on the right and his face turned towards the left. Less often he is turned towards the Virgin. In all the variants he wears a short-sleeved chiton, a transparent shift, and a gleaming, gold-streaked himation, covering only his one shoulder. In his left hand he holds an orb, which is characterised as an element of western iconography, or a closed scroll, held vertically. In quite a few examples the scroll is open and bears the inscription, in Greek, from Isaiah 61:1: "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me..." Often, however, this inscription is replaced by another one, such as that from Proverbs (8:34): "Blessed is the man that heareth me".

The Virgin is usually depicted in half length, enthroned or seated, her head inclined towards the Child and, in most of the variants, her hand resting on his knee. The entire atmosphere of the scheme is western, including the figure of the Virgin with her Western-type diaphanous veil, and her equally westernising maphorion, with the large gold clasp at the breast and the gold band with the pseudo-cucif ornamentation along the hem of her garment.

The representation was produced in large quantities during the 15th and especially during the 16th century by Cretan workshops, as is evidenced by the large number of Italo-Cretan icons on the same theme that have survived or are documented in Venetian archives.

In the many variations of the *Madre della Consolazione* the prevailing type is that of the Virgin with the Child seated on her right arm and turning his face to the left. The hand which he extends in front of the Virgin's breast holds a tripartite orb, and his right hand is raised in blessing. The Virgin, portrayed in half length, inclines her head towards the Child and gently touches his knee.

The type appears to have been established after the middle of the 15th century, possibly by the Cretan painter Nikolaos Tzafouris,² whose signature is to be seen on two important icons on the same

theme, the *Madre della Consolazione* in Trieste³ and the icon of the Kanellopoulos Collection⁴ in Athens (pl.135). The icon of the Byzantine Museum no. XAE2338 with the Virgin and Saint Francis of Assisi⁵ — one of the most beautiful works of 15th-century Italo-Cretan art⁶ — has also been attributed to the same painter.

The extraordinary quality of the icons signed by the well-known painter, and the early period in which they were produced, prove, we believe, that the *Madre della Consolazione* was established by the Cretan workshops at least as early as the 15th century. Indeed, the Virgin of the Kanellopoulos Collection adds yet another valuable piece of information to the study of the type thanks to the completion of the inscription on the back of the icon,⁷ into which were incorporated the two letters of its date — MD (=1500) —. This exquisite and ethereal work by Tzafouris, which shows every sign of its having been executed at the height of the artist's maturity, with the experience and skill gained in repeated reproductions of the type, offers a *terminus ante* or *post quem*, depending on the individual stylistic features, of icons on the same theme which may be seen as belonging to this group.

Of multiple interest, also, as regards the quality and the semantic content of these Cretan works, is the icon on the same theme, auctioned off at Sotheby's in London in February 1985.⁸ In it too, the Virgin is represented in the type of Tzafouris' icons, wearing the red maphorion which is brightened by lighter tones of the same colour, and holding the Christ Child on her right arm. The Child is seated upright and in the *contrapposto* characteristic of the type. As always, his right hand is raised in blessing and in his left hand is the golden sphere, which he holds out in front of his mother's breast.

The new element that has now been added is that of the two small angels painted on the upper part of the icon, on the right and left of the Virgin's halo. They are shown flying towards the centre of the icon, holding the symbols of the Passion. The provenance of the icon must be considered, on the basis of its stylistic features, as being an exceptionally good workshop of the middle of the 15th century. This signifies, at the very least, that the representation of the *Madre della Consolazione*, also, was al-

ready known by that time as having the meaning of a Virgin of the Passion.

The theme, in the same form, continues to be painted in the 16th century, no longer now by the large Cretan workshops alone, but also by the local Dalmatian workshops; indeed, it seems to have been reproduced in a whole series of such paintings, judging from the large numbers of icons of this kind preserved in Italy and in the Collection of the Museum of Ravenna.⁹

Among the Cretan examples of the type of Tzafouris' icon, we must note here icons Λ410-ΣΛ354 of the Loverdos Collection (pl.140), today in the Byzantine Museum, icon T2157 of the same Museum (pl.143), the Patmos icon (pl.139) and that of the D. Ekonomopoulos Collection (pl.137).

The representation also survives in the 17th century, both in the Cretan workshops, such as those of Tzanes¹⁰ and Victor,¹¹ and in the paintings produced in the area of the Dalmatian coast. A faithful reproduction of the type by Tzanes is to be found in an icon bearing his signature, in a private collection in Athens,¹² and also in icon T260 of the Byzantine Museum, which has been ascribed to his workshop and to which has been added a new element: that of the Coronation of the Virgin by two angels (pl.145).

We shall ascribe to a Dalmatian workshop of this period the icon from a private collection in Rome (pl.148), which presents a particular interest because of the elements it borrows from other representations of the Virgin and Child¹³ — such as the Virgin enthroned, or simply seated. The Virgin in the icon from the collection in Rome is seated with the Child on her right knee. Her right hand encircles the Child's waist, with the palm held in front of his breast. The latter detail is used also in a variation of the *Madre della Consolazione* by Emmanuel Tzanes.¹⁴

An iconographic scheme similar to the type of the *Madre della Consolazione* by Tzafouris — and which also begins to take shape in the middle of the 15th century — is the representation with the Child turned towards his mother but not in the *contrapposto* characteristic of the type. Among the earliest and perhaps most beautiful examples of this format is the Virgin of Mytilene (who now holds the Child on her left), a work which presents interesting elements that place it chronologically in the middle of the 15th century (pl.184).¹⁵

The same position and movement of the Child — without the counter-movement of the head and legs — is used in the *Madre della Consolazione* in the Benaki Museum,¹⁶ which, on the basis of its stylistic features, is assuredly a later icon than that of Mytilene. Here, the Virgin once again wears the red maphorion of the type, but without the gold streaks of the deep blue garment in the Mytilene icon. The lights

on its soft late-Gothic folds are rendered in lighter tones of red. The Child turns his face and gaze towards the Virgin¹⁷ and stretches out his left hand, which holds the golden orb, to the right.

The figure of the Child is also portrayed differently here: the Infant's small face, the slender neck, is markedly removed from the solidly built Child of the Virgin of Mytilene with its large face, plump childish cheeks and strong neck.

Similar in format, with the Child now turned further towards his mother, is the icon of Cyprus.¹⁸ Here, too, as in the Mytilene icon, the Virgin holds the Child on the left, and rests her right hand on his knee. The Child's hand, holding the golden orb, is not stretched out but is brought very close to his breast.

A third iconographic interpretation of the *Madre della Consolazione*, which is also to be found in 15th century Cretan icons, deviates from the iconography of the icons by Tzafouris in Trieste and in the Pavlos Kanellopoulos Collection in a single detail, which is perhaps indicative of the origin and provenance of the type. Here the Christ Child is seated once again on the Virgin's right arm, in the familiar position and counter-movement, but holds, instead of a sphere, a closed scroll.

Examples of this variant are also numerous,¹⁹ and among them are included several icons in the Byzantine Museum, namely: icon no. T365, dating from the 15th century (pl.160), no. T347, from the same period (pl.166), no. T1686, of the late 15th or early 16th century (pl.169), icon Λ149-ΣΛ148 of the Loverdos Collection (pl.162) and icon T2645 (pl.164). The latter bears on the back of the panel a note, in two almost completely effaced lines, in which can be made out the dates 1484 and 1540.

All these icons are characterised by certain stylistic elements, which indicate their provenance from good Cretan workshops of this period.

The above iconographic type is now slightly altered. Instead of the Child holding a closed scroll, he now holds an open one,²⁰ on which appears the inscription: *"The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me"*, or *"Blessed is the man that heareth me"*. A worthy representative of this variant is the icon in the Recklinghausen Museum²¹ which constitutes a fine example of the competently executed Cretan paintings produced in the 15th century. The type continues to be reproduced in the 16th century, and it is to this period that we must date the icon from a private collection in Athens (pl.172), in which the Child holds an open scroll bearing the inscription *"Blessed is the man that heareth me"* in his left hand and a quill — a new element — in his right.

The same inscription figures on the scroll in the

left hand of the Child — now depicted with open arms in the more complex, also Italo-Cretan, theme of the Virgin in the Benaki Museum (pl.175), which is very close to the type of the *Madre della Consolazione*. Here, the Virgin is seated with the Child almost suspended over her left knee. With her right hand she supports his left foot. The Christ Child turns towards his mother, grasping the edge of her maphorion high up on the breast with his right hand; in his left, as we have said, he holds an open scroll. The representation is known to us from at least another four important Cretan icons, namely that of the Virgin enthroned of the icon in the Correr Museum in Venice,²² the icon of the Likhachev Collection,²³ the icon of the Benaki Museum²⁴ (pl.178) — in which the Child holds a closed scroll in his hand — and that of the former Willumsen Collection,²⁵ containing the same element. The scroll is absent from the Venice icon and from that of the Likhachev Collection.

Observations on the origin and development of the type

The Italo-Cretan representation of the *Madre della Consolazione* with its marked western characteristics was considered to have been created by western artists,²⁶ and more specifically by a Venetian workshop, which also influenced the Cretan workshops of the 15th century. On the other hand, the view has also been expressed that this western type contains elements of the Byzantine iconography of the Hodegetria.²⁷

Of the examples known to date of the *Madre della Consolazione* and its variants, the form presenting the Child turned towards his mother and the Virgin's hand resting on his knee, is the one which appears to indicate a link between this representation and the corresponding well-known type of the Virgin and Child, in which the Virgin lightly touches the Child's knee²⁸ with her fingertips. This iconographic device is applied in Palaeologan times in important icons of this type, such as, for instance, icon T169 of the Byzantine Museum²⁹ and the precious icon of the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos, which has been dated to the 14th century.³⁰ There, the Virgin holds the Child's left hand, as in the Mytilene icon (pl.184), inclines her head towards him, as in all the examples of the type, and with her fingertips touches his knee. The Christ Child is seated upright and turns towards his mother, as in the icon of the Benaki Museum (Stathatos Collection, pl. 178) and in the iconographically corresponding icon in Cyprus. The comparison of the latter, in particular, with the Virgin of the Vatopedi Monastery re-

veals that it repeats a Palaeologan type similar to that of the Vatopedi Monastery, which it renders in a western manner.

Beyond the above example, in which a connection of the type with a Palaeologan representation has been recognised, the *Madre della Consolazione* appears to present a kinship also with a more elaborated Palaeologan iconographic scheme of the Virgin and Child, to which scheme it is also linked semantically. As has been established conventionally, all the Italo-Cretan icons in the diverse variants we have mentioned are known under the surname of *Madre della Consolazione*.

This epithet *Madre della Consolazione*, which means "Mother of Consolation" or "Mother of Solace" might, in this sense, be connected with the corresponding Byzantine epithets of the Virgin such as "Parigoritissa" ("of Solace"), "Paramythia" ("of Consolation"), "Pausolyte" ("She who ends sorrow"), or "Ponolytria" ("She who releases from pain").

These epithets of the Virgin — more familiar to us from their use in Greek Orthodox hymnography — have attestedly been used for Byzantine, and especially for Palaeologan, churches. With the exception however, of the church of the Parigoritissa in Arta, which is still standing today, the other three are only mentioned in historical documents or ancient accounts.

There appears to have been a church in Trebizond named the "Virgin of Paramythia", which was ceded by the patriarch Philotheus in 1364 to serve as a residence for the bishops of Alania and Sotiro-polis. As this unique — according to Janin — testimony does not provide further information, the church has not yet been identified and its position remains unknown.³¹ There are also accounts testifying to the existence of a church dedicated to the "Virgin Pausolyte", also founded in the middle of the 14th century, and the location of which has not yet been discovered.³² On the other hand, there is testimony regarding the position³³ of the Byzantine church of the Ponolytria which, according to Pseudocodinus, must have been situated within the city of Constantinople, and which was known variously as "Ponolytria", "Ta Ponolytou", "Tou Ponolytou, or" "Ta Panolytou".

Rare, also, are the surviving representations of the Virgin bearing the above epithets which are connected also with the iconography of the Italo-Cretan Virgin Paramythia, known as *Madre della Consolazione*. On the other hand, a representation of the Virgin Ponolytria in a church of Trebizond — now in ruins — which Talbot Rice calls Kurt Boghan,³⁵ has actually been found. As we can clearly make out in the photograph that has preserved the theme of the now lost fresco, the Virgin depicted there is a Palae-

ologan representation of the *Madre della Consolazione*.

"H ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΜΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΟΝΟΛΥΤΡΙΑ", as the inscription in the Kurt Boghan representation reads, is portrayed standing (ill. 18), wearing a maphorion closed all the way up to the neck and crossed over the bosom, and holding the Child on her right, in the same way in which the Christ Child is held in the *Madre della Consolazione*. With the fingertips of her left hand she, too, touches the Child's knee. She does not yet incline her head very deeply towards him, but she is turned in a three-quarters position in his direction. In his left hand, the Child most probably holds a closed scroll, as in the corresponding variation of the *Madre della Consolazione*. He is depicted in *contrapposto*, with his legs to the right and his face turned to the left. Here the movement serves a particular function, since it is connected with the presence of St. John the Baptist, who is depicted on the left of the Child. The saint is portrayed standing and turned towards the Virgin and Child, towards whom he extends his long and lean right hand in a gesture of blessing. In his left hand he holds a scroll inscribed with the words: ΙΔΕ Ο ΑΜΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

The representation also presents a similarity to the *Madre della Consolazione* in the way the Child is dressed. He wears a short-sleeved chiton, of the kind also seen in the Italo-Cretan representation, but here it is adorned with pearl-studded bands and sashes. The entire scene, as it is rendered, is purely Palaeologan in atmosphere and contains no western elements.

The now lost decorative scheme of the church has been dated by Talbot Rice to just before 1622 and has been connected to the frescoes of Kaimakli. This dating of the murals of the church to the early 17th century — despite their Palaeologan atmosphere — would weaken the argument regarding the Palaeologan prototype of the *Madre della Consolazione* and would allow the hypothesis to be put forward that the Virgin "Ponolytria" of Kurt Boghan perhaps copied a western representation. However, following the latest research,³⁶ this dating has been seriously contested. The church is now identified with the church of the Taxiarches of Sachnoe, and is not connected with the Armenian church of Kaimakli — which, besides, is dated by an inscription to 1421 — and a new dating to 1390-1391 has been suggested, which also tallies with the patronal inscription, published by Topalides in 1909.

The linking of the church of Kurt Boghan to the Taxiarches of Sachnoe and its dating to 1390-91, the period of the Great Comnene Manuel III, makes of the Ponolytria of the Palaeologan fresco of the north wall an important piece of evidence arguing in

favour of the existence of a Palaeologan iconographic prototype of the *Madre della Consolazione*, with which it is also connected semantically.

Hermeneutic approach to the semantic content of the *Madre della Consolazione*

As has already been mentioned, the main characteristics of the type reside mainly in the manner in which the Child is dressed and in the element of the tripartite sphere topped by a cross, included in the most prevalent variant.

A feature which is particularly insistent and repeated without exception is the diaphanous shift of the Child, showing under the short sleeve of his chiton and sometimes covering his knees. Extensive research has proved, regarding this transparent garment of Christ, that it constitutes a Byzantine application which later became incorporated into western iconography.³⁷ It is already found in representations of the Virgin and Child of the mid-Byzantine period, as in the Platytera of the apse of the monasterial church of Hosios Loukas,³⁸ in the Virgin and Child on the northern pillar of the iconostasis of Saint Sophia in Ochrid,³⁹ in the "Kyriotissa" (between the figures of the emperor John II and his wife Irene) in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople,⁴⁰ and thereafter (in the 12th and 13th centuries), in many representations of the Christ Child in his mother's arms.

In all the above representations, as in many others, the Child's transparent shift can be seen through the short sleeve of his chiton, in the opening around the neck, or above his knees.

Of great interest as regards the semantic interpretation of the type is the application of this element in the Christ of the Presentation, which, moreover, confirms the semantic relationship of the iconography of the Virgin and Child with the Presentation.

Among the oldest examples of such an application is the portrayal of the Child in the Presentation of the *Menologion* of Basil II,⁴¹ in the Presentation at Hosios Loukas,⁴² in the same representation in the *Evangelistaron* of the Iviron Monastery⁴³ of Mount Athos, in the Presentation of the Melissanthé⁴⁴ Psalter, as well as in a corresponding representation in the tetraptych of the Sinai Monastery.⁴⁵

A second constant iconographic element — both in the Palaeologan Ponolytria and in the Italo-Cretan representation of the *Madre della Consolazione* — is the chiton of the Child, which is always richly ornamented.

In the representation of the "Ponolytria" in the church of the Taxiarches in Sachnoe, Trebizond, (Kurt Boghan, according to Talbot Rice), the Child

wears, above his probably transparent shift, a short-sleeved *sakkos*, with broad bands adorned with gems and pearls over the shoulders, the breast, the vertical side hems and around the lower borders. Also pearl-studded is the sash, which falls vertically and in front, all the way down to the lower edge of the *sakkos*.

This lavishly decorated garment of Christ in the Virgin Ponolytria — with its short sleeves and square shape, strongly reminiscent of the imperial *divetesion*⁴⁶ or imperial and episcopal *sakkos* — lends a particular semantic content to the representation, which also perhaps interprets the deeper meaning of the iconographically similar *Madre della Consolazione*.

As has already been pointed out, the imperial *divetesion* or the Palaeologan imperial *sakkos* was white or crimson and came all the way down to the feet. The emperor wore the *sakkos* — according to Pseudo-codinus — for his coronation or on Palm Sunday. Also, according to Constantine Porphyrogenetus, the sash by its shape represented the Burial of Christ, and by its rich, gold decoration his Resurrection.⁴⁷

Also rich and gold-embroidered around the neck, the shoulders and the lower edges, however, is the garment of Christ in the Sopotsani Presentation.⁴⁸

The Christ of the Presentation, according to the liturgical and homiletic texts, has been identified chiefly — as is proven also by particular iconographic elements of the representation — with the *Melismos*, the Eucharistic distribution of the Lamb, whose future sacrifice is alluded to both by insistent references in the texts to the "obedience" to the Law⁴⁹ and — especially — by the characterisation of Christ as "Despotes".

In particular, in the liturgy of the feast-day of the Presentation (the 2nd of February), Christ is referred to as "the Lord" and Simeon as "the servant". Very often, there, we hear that Simeon "trembleth and feareth to take the Lord in his arms",⁵⁰ and "fearfully and joyfully enfoldeth the Lord in his arms"⁵¹ as he cries: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace",⁵² phrases which are constantly and regularly repeated throughout the service. In the *Megalynaria* too, which are sung on this occasion, the element of the "Lord" becomes a constant point of reference: "Come ye, behold the Christ/the Lord of all", "descended from heaven/the Lord of all was received by Simeon the Priest".⁵⁴

The fact that the Christ Child in the imperial and episcopal *sakkos* of the Ponolytria and in the diaphanous shift underneath his precious gold-decorated chiton in the Italo-Cretan *Madre della Consolazione* (in which he also holds the tripartite sphere) is the

Lord (Despot) of the Presentation, is also proven in other instances.

According to written testimonies, in Byzantium, since the time of the emperor Justinian, the emperor bore the title of "Despot", which thus distinguished him from his servants-subjects.⁵⁵ As we are informed by Procopius, it was Justinian who first established the title,⁵⁶ which from then on was borne by all the Byzantine emperors up until and including the Comnenes of Trebizond. As is recorded in the work by Constantine Porphyrogenetus "*Περὶ τῆς Βασιλείας τάξεως*" (I, 69, 327), the emperors were despots and their subjects were servants ("As servants we make bold to entreat you, lords").⁵⁷

The results of this identification of Christ with the lord are now made visible not only in the element of the imperial garment he wears in the representation of the Ponolytria and in the sumptuous chiton in which he is clad in the representation of the *Madre della Consolazione*, but also in the orb which he holds in that representation, in the manner in which we see it held by the emperors on Byzantine coins.⁵⁸

The meaning of the sphere,⁵⁹ which first appears on the coins minted in Justinian's time, has already been interpreted by Procopius in his description of the well-known statue of the emperor in the Augustaeum. There the emperor holds an orb "(signifying) that all the lands and the seas are subject to him",⁶⁰ a phrase which recalls the description of Zeus by the Byzantine scholar Meliteniotis: "the three spherical apples in his sceptre allude to the lord of the heavens and of the universe".⁶¹

But "king and creator of heaven and earth and Lord of Glory", "king of Glory and Christ-king" are appellations very often given to Christ in the hymnody of the Presentation and, according to Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, "he was anointed king and priest with the oil of the incarnation".⁶²

It is worth mentioning here that, as has been said earlier, in a representation of the *Madre della Consolazione*, Christ holds an open scroll on which are inscribed the words: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me". The inscription, which accords with the formal garment of the Child, his gold-embroidered chiton, his transparent shift and red-gold himation, now clearly declares the anointment of Christ as "king and priest" by the Holy Spirit, upon his first entrance into the temple. This is because, according to an interpretation given by Saint Basil the Great in his explanatory text regarding the verse "therefore God...hath anointed thee" of the 45th Psalm,⁶³ Christ was anointed king as were the conventional kings and high priests, but with the true chrism, which was that of the Holy Spirit, at his Incarnation. On the same subject, in his Discourse

"Κατά Μακεδονιανών, ἡ περὶ τοῦ Αγίου Πνεύματος", Gregory of Nyssa, interpreting Acts 10:38 ("How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost"), considers the anointing a symbol of the kingship and Christ a king by nature, for: "the chrism is not something extraneous to him who is King by nature, nor as something foreign and alien to the Holy Trinity did the Spirit accept it. For the Son is King; and a living, substantial and hypostatic Kingdom is the Holy Spirit, having received the chrism of which, the Only-begotten One is Christ and King of all".⁶⁴

However, in the representation of the *Madre della Consolazione*, Christ is also high priest, in the sense, here, of his future sacrificial death on the cross which, as we believe, is indicated by the Child's diaphanous garment, which constitutes an established feature in all the variations following the Italo-Cretan iconographic tradition.

Among the most eloquent interpretative texts we note that of Justin,⁶⁵ who calls Christ "high priest" in relation to the meaning of his sacrificial death ("Christ this high priest who was crucified"), an interpretation which is also given by Origenes ("the high priest offered up himself as sacrifice"⁶⁶ and "him who is high priest forevermore of the order of Melchizedek and the lamb of God").⁶⁷

Christ, in the sense of him who offers himself up in sacrifice, is again high priest "because he offered up his body" according to Gregory of Nyssa.⁶⁸

We shall now also view as Christ, king and high priest the Child in the arms of the Pnolytria in Trebizond and in the Italo-Cretan interpretation of the *Madre della Consolazione*.

Besides, the diaphanous shift of the Child and his gold-embroidered chiton, and also his lavishly adorned *sakkos* in the Palaeologan representation of Trebizond, find their parallels in both the imperial garment of formal ceremonies and in the vestments of the high priest, as is proven by the explanatory texts in their references to the ceremonial robes of the Jewish priests.

Among the most illuminating texts on the interpretation of the Child's transparent garment is that found in the treatise by Gregory of Nyssa "Εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ Μωυσέως" ("De Vita Moysis"), in which he describes and interprets the accessories of the garments of the Jewish high priests worn by Moses, who was also "both king and high priest".

According to the above text, one of the important garments of the high priest was "the undergarment, which covers him from his neck down to the tips of his feet".⁶⁹ The chiton itself — which Gregory of Nyssa elsewhere calls foot-length — is described and interpreted in detail in the same work, and we find there certain interesting points which are relevant to our subject ("the colour of his full-length garment is hy-

acinth"). On its significance, despite his own doubts, Gregory accepts the view of others, according to whom this full-length garment was airy: "Some who have seen it before us say the colour is meant to resemble the air. As for me, if I cannot exactly claim that this colour of the flower is akin to that of the air, I cannot, nonetheless, disclaim the word ", and, immediately afterwards, he himself connects it to the ritual and the sacrifice "of him who is to serve God in ritual and shall become the sacrificial victim ". Therefore, this long, diaphanous and ethereal garment, which is connected by Gregory of Nyssa with the sacrifice of "him who is to serve... ", can now be identified with the diaphanous garment of the Christ of the Presentation, in which the meaning of the future sacrifice of the Child being brought at that moment before the temple is clearly expressed.

We can now connect this same meaning with our representation which, moreover, in the icon auctioned off at Sotheby's, clearly reveals this relationship through the inclusion of the two angels accompanying the *Madre della Consolazione* and holding the symbols of the Passion.

In the same explanatory text mention is made also of another element, which is significant in the interpretation of the iconographic type — namely, of the *prostethion*, the pectoral ornament, "shining with the many lights of its precious stones".⁷⁰ This is square, and on it are inscribed the names of the patriarchs of the tribes ("And that square ornament...on which have been inscribed with gems the eponymous leaders"). We now believe that the element must be identified with a similar ornament on the chiton of Christ in the two icons of the Benaki Museum constituting variations of the *Madre della Consolazione*, in which the Child, dressed in a white short-sleeved chiton, wears on his breast a rectangular *prostethion* with a gold decorative design recalling a pseudo-cufic script.

In conclusion, we would say that the representation of the *Madre della Consolazione* — at least in the form in which it was established by the Cretan workshops of the mid-15th century — derives from a Palaeologan iconographic prototype, the only example known to us today being that of the lost representation in Trebizond. Also, that the future sacrifice of the lamb which is there foretold by St. John the Baptist — depicted beside Christ holding his open scroll with the prophetic words: "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!" is indicated by the infant Christ in the arms of his mother, portrayed as king and high priest, and conveying the meaning of his sacrificial death ("the high priest gave himself up in sacrifice") which indeed constitutes the deeper meaning of the Presentation.

1. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.200, note 106. Chatzidakis 1974b, p.118. Chatzidakis 1977, p.91. Chatzidakis 1977, pp.684, 688. Elbern 1970, p.17. Wulff, Alpatoff 1925, p.226.
2. Cattapan 1972, pp.209-210. Cattapan 1977, pp.222-234. Chatzidakis 1974a, pp.183-188.
3. Bianco Fiorin 1983, pp.164-169.
4. Baltoyianni 1986, no.10. *Affreschi e Icone* 1986, no.62, pp.107-109, pl.62 (Baltoyianni). *From Byzantium to El Greco* 1987, no.42, pp.175-176, pl.72 (Baltoyianni). *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.53, pp.211-212, pl.53 (Baltoyianni).
5. Bianco Fiorin 1983.
6. *Affreschi e Icone* 1986, no.67, pp.113-116, pl.117. *From Byzantium to El Greco* 1987, no.46, pp.179-180, pl.46 (Acheimastou-Potamianou). *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.54, pp.212-213, pl.54 (Acheimastou-Potamianou).
7. See note 4.
8. *Icons, Russian Pictures, Works of Art and Fabergé* (1985), no.72.
9. Angiolini Martinelli 1982, nos.37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 48, 49, 57, 59, 60, 65 (in the last three the Virgin holds the Child on her left and is accompanied by the Catholic saint, Rocco).
10. An unpublished icon in a private collection in Athens. Mention of this icon is made by Vokotopoulos 1990, no.95, p.139.
11. Vokotopoulos op.cit., no.95, p.139, ill.257.
12. See note 10.
13. The case is not a unique one. Already since the middle of the 16th century in the representations of the *Madre della Consolazione*, and in the portrayal of the Galaktotrophousa, elements from other prototypes were often combined.
14. Drandakis 1974, p.41, pl. Γ' (Cephalonia icon). Vokotopoulos 1990, no.78, pp.114-115, ill.55.
15. Mastoropoulos 1981, p.387, pl.284.
16. N. Chatzidaki 1983, no.43, p.50, ill.43. Xyngopoulos 1951, no.24, p.31.
17. We encounter the same type with the Child turned towards his Mother in at least eight icons of the Museum in Ravenna (Angiolini Martinelli 1982, nos.23, 40, 42, 43, 46, 47, 50). We also note the icon on the same theme of the Museum of Padua (Musei Civici); see N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.24, pp.110-112, pl.24.
18. Talbot-Rice 1937, p.49.
19. At least five icons in the Ravenna Museum (Angiolini Martinelli 1982, nos.31, 32, 35, 36). We also note here the icon of the Rampazzo Collection (Bettini 1933, pl.IV), and the icon on the same theme in the church of the Redentore in Venice (N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.25, p.114, pl.25).
20. There are also numerous examples of this. Four are known from the Museum of Ravenna (Angiolini Martinelli 1982, no.19), with the inscription ΠΝ(ευμ)Α ΚΥ(ριου) ΕΠ ΕΜΕ ΟΥ ΕΙ(νεκεν); icon no.29 has the same inscription, as also icon no.34. Icon no.33 bears the inscription ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΦΙΛΑΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑ ΟΔΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ.
21. Skrobucha 1961, p.143, pl.XXIV. Recklinghausen 1976, no.153. The inscription on Christ's scroll ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΚΥΠΙΟΥ ΕΠ ΕΜΕ ΟΥ ΕΙΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΧΡΙΣΕΝ ΜΕ is from Isaiah (61:1).
22. Mariacher 1957, pp.131-132. Chatzidakis 1977, p.688. N. Chatzidaki 1993, where also the earlier bibliography.
23. Likhachev 1906-1908, no.89, pl. LIII.
24. Xyngopoulos 1951, p.31, pl.21. *Βυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1964, no.222, pp.264-265 (Vokotopoulos), Chatzidakis 1974a, p.179, pl.11. Chatzidakis 1977, p.688, ill.51. N. Chatzidaki 1983, no.42, p.50, pl.42.
25. *Icons grecques, melkites, russes* 1993, pp.58-59. Chatzidaki 1993, p.52. The icon, which faithfully reproduces the theme of the Virgin of the Correr Museum with simpler artistic means, presents elements of the art of Nikolaos Ritzos, who undoubtedly uses the cartoons of his father, Andreas Ritzos.
26. Wulff, Alpatoff 1925, p.226.
27. Mitropoulos 1964, p.55. Elbern 1979, p.20.
28. Vassilaki-Karakatsani 1969, pp.200-206.
29. Op.cit., pl.83.
30. Op.cit., pl.82.
31. Janin 1975, p.274.
32. Janin 1969, p.217 and 228. The existence of a church of the Virgin Pausolyte on Mount Ghalission also has been recorded since the time of Constantine IX Monomachus (Janin 1975, p.244).
33. Janin 1969, p.228.
34. Under the epithet "Paramythia", the highly revered mural representation of the Monastery of Vatopedi depicts the Virgin in half length, holding the Child on her left, with his hand on her lips. G. Sotiriou, "Κειμήλια του Αγίου Όρους" in *Ημερολόγιον Μεγάλης Ελλάδος*, 1992, p.147. Millet 1927, pl.98.2 The epithet of ΠΑΥΧΟΛΥΠΕΙ appears on an inscription accompanying the standing Virgin, in a slight variation from the type of the Hodegetria, in the wall painting of the north tympanum of the Virgin "stis Yiallous" in Naxos. Drandakis 1964b, p.260.
35. Talbot Rice 1936, p.154, pl.LVI.
36. Bryer, Winfield 1985, pp.286-389, pl.215b.
37. Mouriki 1991, pp.167-170.

38. Mouriki op.cit., ill.18.
39. Op.cit., ill.20.
40. Bertelli 1988, pl. on pp.136 & 137.
41. *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613), II, pl.365.
42. Mouriki op.cit., ill.19.
43. Pelekanides 1975, 2, ill.4. Mouriki op.cit., p.166.
44. Buchthal 1957, pp.3-4, pl.3a. Mouriki op.cit., p.166.
45. G. and M. Sotiriou 1956, pl.78.
46. ODB, p.639.
47. *De Ceremoniis*, II, 40, p.638 (Bonn edition).
48. Lydov 1986, pl.14.
49. Baltoyanni, "Christ the Lamb and the Ἐνώ-
τιον' of the Law in a Wall Painting of Araka"
ΔΧΑΕ ΙΖ" (in press).
50. *Μηναίον Φεβρουαρίου*, " Phos editions" (1972),
p.26.
51. Op.cit., p.27
52. Op.cit., p.29.
53. Op.cit., p.36
54. Op.cit.
55. Guiland 1959, p.52.
56. Guiland op.cit.
57. Guiland op.cit.
58. Grierson 1968, pp.84-86.
59. Grierson op.cit. p.85. Deer 1961, p.82.
60. Procopius, *Περί Κτισμάτων* (De Aedificiis)
I.2.11
61. Littlewood 1974, pp.56-57.
62. PG 98, 385C.
63. PG 29, 405A.
64. PG 45, 1320C.
65. PG 6, 744B.
66. PG 11, 601B.
67. PG 14, 561A.
68. PG 36, 288A.
69. PG 44, 320C.
70. PG 44, 388B.

68. Nikolaos Tzafouris
The Virgin Madre della Consolazione.

Athens. Pavlos Kanellopoulos Collection.

Dimensions: 0.56 x 0.45 m (exclusive of the frame).

1.10 x 0.875 m. (with the frame).

Pls. 135, 136.



This is one of the later works of the well-known Cretan artist Nikolaos Tzafouris, and was recently identified¹ with the icon of the Virgin which was offered up for auction in 1939 in Venice by H. Bagge, then residing in Athens.²

The icon, now in the personal collection of P.

Kanellopoulos, is set in a carved wooden Renaissance frame, and represents the Virgin in the well-known Italo-Cretan type of the *Madre della Consolazione*.³ The Virgin, depicted in half length, holds the Child on her right and with the tips of the fingers of her left hand touches him tenderly on the knee. She wears a Western-type maphorion which fastens in front with a large, quatrefoil clasp, and a western-type transparent veil, the folds of which emerge beneath her head-covering. Christ is seated with his upper body turned towards the left and his legs towards the right. His right hand is raised in blessing and in his left he holds a sphere.

On the reverse of the icon has been painted a foliate cross with the symbols of the Passion and, on the bottom part, an inscription in white Latin capitals. As we now know, the inscription preserves the name of the artist Nicolo Zafuri and the month (Otubrio) in which the work was executed. Now complete, the inscription must read as follows: M(AISTR)O NICOLO ZAFURI [P.MD] ADI [4] OTUBRIO. The letter P (Pinxit) and the MD (=1500) may complete the gap between the name ZAFURI and the ADI where the surface is damaged and where there is space for only three letters. The number, 4, indicating the date in October, still existed at the time of the auction of the icon, as noted by Bettini.⁴

Nikolaos Tzafouris is a Cretan painter⁵ known to us as much from the archival documents in Venice as from another four signed works of his which have survived.⁶ He appears in archival sources for the first time in 1487,⁷ and in Candia, Crete (present-day Herakleion, then in the hands of the Venetians) where he lived and worked most probably up until 1500, since in August of that year he signed an agreement, while in 1501 — again according to

archival material — his wife Maria Pirin was already a widow.⁹

An important Venetian document dated 1492¹⁰ refers to the artistic activities of the painter and his workshop. According to this document, representatives of the Venetian administrator of the town of Nauplion in the Peloponnese commissioned Tzafouris to execute the *pala* for the altar of the Catholic church of the town. Tzafouris was required to paint the 23 figures of the polyptych, for which he would be paid 13 gold ducats, a price which was considered exceedingly high. The high fee of the commission is confirmed, besides, by the purchase, a year earlier, of part of a plot of land, belonging to the brother-in-law of the painter, Manussius Pirin, for three gold ducats.¹¹

The evidence of a commission by the Provveditore of Nauplion for the Catholic church, at this high price, is valuable as it attests to the prestigious position held by Tzafouris within his profession. Beyond the above, the work — on a western theme, once again, since it is intended for a Catholic church — confirms the particular skill and expertise of Tzafouris in painting "*a la latina maniera*", which he does in all his signed surviving works.

Besides his favourite subject, that of Christ in the Akra Tapeinosis, between St. John and the Virgin, which he paints in the icon now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,¹² and in the triptych of the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg¹³ (a work which seems to have been copied from Bellini), the other representations in his icons also illustrate western themes. The Christ Helkomenos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York,¹⁴ depicting Christ being drawn to Calvary bearing the large cross of his sacrifice, as also the other scenes of the triptych of St. Petersburg, — once again concern themes of 14th-century western painting, in which his "*a la latina*" artistic resources largely predominate.

However, there are also elements in his otherwise western representations that testify to the training of the Cretan artist in Orthodox painting. This can be discerned particularly in the figure of Christ on the way to Calvary (in the above-mentioned New York icon) and in the Virgin of the Nativity (in the St. Petersburg triptych), which are rendered with the gravity and restraint proper to the Greek Orthodox, Cretan ethos.

It must be noted here that no signed icons by Nikolaos Tzafouris in which the style or iconography is entirely Greek Orthodox had been found until lately. Recently, however, his signature was discovered on a large icon of the Deesis, now exhibited in the Museum of the Antivouniotissa in Corfu. The icon will be published by Barbara Papadopoulou,

of the 8th Ephoria of Byzantine Antiquities, who is also responsible for the restoration of the work, during the course of which the signature was discovered. We shall simply note here that the Deesis by Tzafouris in the Museum of the Antivouniotissa, apart from its top part in the shape of a broken arch, presents no other elements betraying the long apprenticeship of the Cretan artist in the "*maniera a la latina*". On the contrary, it reproduces a well-known iconographic type in the Orthodox manner of 15th-century Cretan painting, in a work which, according to what are at present only slight indications, was intended for a well-known Catholic altar.

To return to our icon, we must note that, despite its general Western air, we can recognise, there, too, the principles of 15th-century Cretan art, a fact which attests to a corresponding apprenticeship on the part of the well-known Cretan. Features such as the hands of both figures and the Child's feet, which are rendered in a stylised Cretan manner, without any particular attempt at naturalism, the gold striations of Christ's himation in the triangular shapes with the comb-shaped edges familiar to us from Cretan icons, and the elaborate Cretan "stars" on the otherwise Western-style maphorion of the Virgin, all lead to the attribution of the work to a Cretan artist of the 15th century, who is able to respond successfully to the requirements of both his Orthodox and his Catholic clientele.

Of the Orthodox Byzantine iconography the representation retains the position of the Virgin's left hand on the Child's knee, an iconographic element with which we are familiar from corresponding applications in Byzantine and Palaeologan examples.¹⁵ Now however, the entire iconographic scheme of the representation is proved to be a Palaeologan one, and its supposed, until now, Venetian origin is being seriously questioned. As we have said in the introductory text on the iconography of the type, the representation of the Virgin "Ponolytria", which has been found in a Palaeologan fresco in the church of the Taxiarches in Sachnoe, in Trebizond,¹⁶ appears to constitute a parallel example of the prototype — most probably a Palaeologan one — of the *Madre della Consolazione*.

As we know, this epithet of the Virgin could be identified with the Byzantine epithets Parigoritissa, Pausolyte, and Ponolytria¹⁸ attached to the Virgin, and expressing the same meaning.

The Trebizond representation of the standing Virgin and Child — one that is very close to the type of the Western *Madre della Consolazione*, with the Christ Child portrayed in *contrapposto* on his mother's right arm, and the Virgin's left hand on his knee — bears the inscription ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ Η ΠΟΝΟΛΥΤΡΙΑ and, according to the most recent dating of the mural

scheme of the church, dates to 1390. The representation, an expertly executed one, and one in which the compositional problems have been solved, does not appear to have been attempted there for the first time and most probably repeats an older Palaeologan model. This may suggest a use of the type in Palaeologan art already since the 14th century and before 1390.¹⁹

Bibliography: *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1986, no.118, p.119, ill.119 (Baltoyianni). *Affreschi e Icone* 1987, no.62, pp.107-108, pl.62 (Baltoyianni). *From Byzantium to El Greco* 1988, no.42, pp.175-176, pl.42 (Baltoyianni). *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1989, no.53, pp.211-212, pl.53 (Baltoyianni).

1. See bibliography here.
2. Bettini 1940, p.72, note 1.
3. Chatzidakis 1974 a, p.200, note 106.
4. Bettini op.cit.
5. Cattapan 1972, pp.209-210. Cattapan 1977, pp.222-234. Chatzidakis op.cit., pp.183-188.
6. The icon in question is that of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, with Christ between the Virgin and St. John (Akra Tapeinosis) (Kreidl-Papadopoulos 1970, p.93, ill.39); the triptych of the Likhachev Collection, now in the Museum of St. Petersburg (Likhachev 1911), pls. LXXX-LXXI. Chatzidakis 1974a, pp.183-188, pls. IE'1, IΣT'1, IZ'1); the *Madre della Consolazione* in Trieste (Bianco Fiorin 1983, pp.164-169) and the icon with Christ Helkomenos (The Way to Calvary) of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Wehle 1940, p.1. Chatzidakis op.cit., p.187. *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1982, no.52, p.211, pl.52 [Kalas]).
7. Cattapan 1977, p.227.
8. Op.cit., p.231.
9. Op.cit., p.232.
10. Cattapan 1972, pp.209-210.
11. Cattapan 1977, pp.228-229.
12. Kreidl-Papadopoulos op.cit., see note 6.
13. Likhachev op.cit., see note 6.
14. See note 6.
15. Vassilaki-Karakatsani 1969.
16. Talbot Rice 1936, p.154, pl.LVI, 1. Bryer, Winfield 1985, I. pp.286-289, where the monument is dated to 1390.
17. Janin 1969, p.228.
18. Op.cit.
19. Bryer, Winfield op.cit.

69. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Thessalonike. Museum of Byzantine Civilisation.

(D. Ekonomopoulos Collection).

Dimensions: 0.51 x 0.39 m.

Second half of the 15th century.

Plates 137, 138.



On a gold ground, the Virgin is depicted holding the Child on her right, in the iconographic type of the *Madre della Consolazione*. The icon is damaged and has been subjected to recent interventions. The Christ Child is seated upright and in the *contrapposto* position characteristic of the type. He looks towards the viewer and holds a large sphere in his left hand, which is outstretched in front of the Virgin's breast. He is clad in a red himation with dense striations, and a deep blue chiton, with a gold ornamentation of adjoining circles enclosing stars. The Virgin bends towards the Child, and tenderly touches his knee with her left hand. She wears a crimson maphorion with dark purple tints, which fastens in front over the breast, and a head covering under

which can be seen the folds of her white, diaphanous, western-type veil. A broad band with a gold pseudo-cufic decorative design adorns the hem of her maphorion. The same band can also be seen on her chiton, around the neck.

The icon of the Ekonomopoulos Collection, among the most beautiful and oldest works of this type, is still very close to the Italian "*Madonne*" of the 14th and 15th centuries. The ornamentation on the band of the chiton and the maphorion of the Virgin is intricate and delicately gilded; the clasp securing her garment over the breast is elaborate; a multitude of dense gold striations mark the Child's himation, while the decorative design on his chiton is late Gothic. The influence of Sienese painting is manifest in the very narrow and clear eyes of the Virgin, as well as in the directness of the Child's expression. An obvious Cretan element in the icon is the air of the figures, particularly that of the Virgin; despite the over-emphasised Italian expression of grief, the icon retains the well-known gravity of Cretan art. The above features point to a Cretan workshop of the 15th century.

Bibliography: Baltoyianni 1985, no.23, pp.32-33, pls.22-23.

70. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Patmos, Chora. Church of the Presentation.

Early 16th century.

Dimensions: 0.605 x 0.50 m (including the frame).

Pl.139.



The Virgin and Child of Patmos is depicted in half length and in the iconographic type of the *Madre della Consolazione* most probably established by the Cretan painter of the late 15th century, Nikolaos Tzafouris (see introductory note on the type).

The Christ Child is seated on his mother's right arm, in *contrapposto* (with his face turned towards the left of the painting and his legs, which are covered by his himation, turned in the opposite direction); with his right hand he blesses and in his left he holds a globe.

The type, which is repeated in a series of icons, is varied here by the inclusion of certain particular

elements which, in spite of their rarity, can also be found elsewhere. The Christ Child's halo, with the trilobate divisions and the three letters O Ω N can be seen in an icon of the Diocesano Museum in Bari,¹ in which has also been applied the peculiar ornamental design of the Virgin's halo, with the large acanthus leaves in the spaces left undecorated by the punctated background. The broad band, too, with the dense gold striations, which adorns the Virgin's chiton over the breast and which follows a vertical direction - a feature which is not particularly rare in variations of the type - is also found embellishing the Western-type garment of the Virgin Galaktrotrophousa in an icon belonging to a private collection in Athens, which we have dated to the 15th century.² The latter element, executed with simpler means and in a yellow colour, but in the same position and in the same shape, is repeated in the *Madre della Consolazione* in a private collection in Rome (pl.148).

The connection between our icon and the *Madre della Consolazione* in Bari, which has been attributed to the circle of Angelos Pitzamanos,³ does not rule out the ascription of our icon to the same circle. A

similar provenance is indicated by the manner in which have been rendered the two faces, with their warm rosy colour, a feature which characterizes a series of icons of the *Madre della Consolazione* of the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, often linked to Dalmatian workshops.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

71. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Athens, Byzantine Museum (A410-ΣA354).

Dimensions: 0.67 x 0.525 m.

First half of the 16th century.

Plates 140, 141, 142.



The representation belongs to the iconographic type of the *Madre della Consolazione* and follows the variant painted and established by the Cretan artist Nikolaos Tzafouris (see introductory note on the origin and development of the type). The elements which differentiate the representation from the two

icons of the same type signed by this well-known painter of the second half of the 15th century - that in the Pavlos Kanellopoulos Collection (pl.135) and that of Trieste¹ - except for certain insignificant iconographic deviations, are mainly stylistic.

The Virgin is pictured here, too, in half length, and holding the Child on her right in both arms. The Child's gesture, position and clothing are the same as in Tzafouris' icons, and he holds the large orb in his left hand. The Virgin is clad in the same Western-type maphorion and diaphanous veil.

The differences, which distance the work chronologically from the icon of the Kanellopoulos Collection and certainly date it to a later period, are indicated by the simplified and stylised bright red lights on the crimson maphorion and by the hard black lines in the dark folds. A similar stylisation can be seen in the rendering of the Child's garments, with the clear and colder gold embellishments in the chiton, and the simpler, fewer and more superficial gold striations on the bright red of his himation, with the calligraphic curves of its folds. A greater difference is noticeable in the treatment of the faces, in which the features are more strongly delineated, the wheat-coloured lights are finer and glossy, the dense, opaque colours, which are applied with broader strokes gradually blending with the equally fine and glossy underpaint. These latter elements

1. *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, no.53, p.145, pl.53 (Gelao).

2. Baltoyianni 1986, no.21.

3. *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* op.cit.

4. See the icon of the *Madre della Consolazione* in the church of the Redentore in Venice (N. Chatzidakis 1993, no.25, p.114, pl.25).

do away with the confused late Gothic atmosphere of the Italo-Cretan icons of the late 15th century and lead to a later dating of our icon.

The expression of the faces, which have already acquired veracity and directness through the particular definition of their features, also changes, and is now far removed from the dreamy air characteristic of Tzafouris' figures.

From the foregoing features we can establish the affinity of our icon with the unpublished icon of Cephalonia, in which can be found all its particular iconographic and stylistic elements. Besides, it is quite possible that the provenance of our icon is also the island of Cephalonia, from which the greater part of the collection of the Cephalonian collector Dionysios Loverdos, originates. It is worth noting that, in spite of the Cretan expression and manner of execution of the work, certain of its features — such as the peculiar and elaborate foliate decoration on the Virgin's halo, with the lotus-shaped designs and scrolls — are encountered particularly in the decorative bands and ornaments of the garments depicted in the frescoes painted by artists of what was once known as the *'Theban School'*² and which was recently incorporated into the Epirotan³ artistic tradition.

Another argument in favour of the hypothesis that the icon may belong to a related artistic environment is also offered by the bright red colour of the Virgin's maphorion, the brick-coloured lighted parts of the flesh, and the directness of the gaze, particularly that of the Child, all of which constitute hallmarks of the Epirot School. The faithful reproduction of the Cretan prototype does not prevent us from assigning this western-style representation to the above school of art which, as we know, often copies techniques and methods of Cretan painting. Besides, the possible provenance of the work from Cephalonia and the existence of a totally similar icon in the same geographical area, which is naturally related to nearby Epirus, also argue in favour of such a classification.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Bianco Fiorin 1983, pp.164-169.

72. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (T2157).

dimensions: 0.70 x 0.53 m.

Early 16th century.

Pls.143,144.



The representation remains faithful to the type of the *Madre della Consolazione* most probably created by the Cretan artist, Nikolaos Tzafouris, who lived and worked in Candia, Crete, at the end of the 15th century. The Virgin is portrayed in half length, holding the Child, and clad in her deep red western-style

maphorion, dark green sleeved chiton and transparent, draped veil. A broad band with a pseudo-cufic ornamentation and cross-in-diamond-shaped gold motif runs along the edge of her maphorion, and an elaborate quatrefoil clasp secures her maphorion in front of her breast. She holds the Child on her right arm and with her left hand carefully touches his knee. Her head is inclined towards him and her gaze turned to the viewer. The Christ Child, clad in his diaphanous shirt, gold-embroidered chiton and a rose-coloured himation with gold striations, is

seated with his legs extended to the right and his face turned to the left. With an open gesture he blesses, and holds in his left hand the "Despot's" orb (see interpretative note on the *Madre della Consolazione*).

In spite of the exceptional artistic quality of the work, with its glossy gilding, the clear and carefully elaborated colours, and the faithful imitation of the late Gothic elements of Italo-Cretan icon painting of the late 15th century, certain particular features of the representation lead us to assign it to the first half of the 16th century. The iconographic type of the Virgin *Madre della Consolazione* was still very often being reproduced at the time by the well-established Cretan workshops, as well as by the more provincial, local workshops of Dalmatia. Our icon, with the translucent, but dark-toned, grey-brown modelling in the shaded parts and the cool whitish-grey lights, betrays practices and techniques of the Italo-Cretan icon painting of this period, which is by now aware of all the possibilities of the new colours, such as the clear, bright lacquer with the gentle shadings that soften the deep folds of the Virgin's maphorion, or the bright cadmium-red in the Christ Child's himation, which is easily brightened by a few gold streaks.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

73. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (T260).

Dimensions: 0.47 x 0.37 m.

Second half of the 17th century.

Pls.145, 146, 147.



The icon of the Byzantine Museum represents the Virgin and Child in the iconographic type of the *Madre della Consolazione*, as it was established by the Cretan workshops of the second half of the 15th century.¹ The Virgin, here too, holds the Christ Child on her right, in the familiar

position of the type, in marked *contrapposto*: the

Child is pictured blessing, with his right hand near his body, and holding the tripartite orb in his left. The Virgin is clad, as usual, in her western-type maphorion. The gold bands running along its hem are broad and ornamented with a dense foliate scroll. She also wears a richly draped chiton and a diaphanous and elaborate veil. Christ, Lord and High Priest, is clad in a transparent shift, significant in terms of the theological meaning of the feature, which refers us to the diaphanous robe of the high priest; he is also clad in a luxurious, short-sleeved and gold-embroidered chiton, suggesting an imperial and episcopal garment, and a red-gold himation.

The entire shining representation, with its bright fine-grained and superbly-elaborated colours in a complex range (rosy-reds, mellow greens, minium-reds), the lavish gold webbing and luminous faces, points to an outstanding 17th-century workshop

disposing of rich artistic resources.

Among the novel iconographic and other elements, in this faithful repetition of the old Cretan 15th-century prototype, is the Coronation of the Virgin (shown with an elaborate gem-studded halo and being crowned by full-length angels on clouds), the star-shaped clasp of the maphorion, the gilding in the rose-coloured himation of the angel on the left, the two colours — blue-green on the upper part and red on the lower part — of the sphere in the Child's hand, the different coloured lining of his himation and, especially, the translucency in the modelling of the flesh, which indicate techniques and methods of a workshop very close to the art of Emmanuel Tzanes.²

The luminous olive-green underpaint, the cold grey intermediary hues leading to the very bright parts, which are rendered with many fine white streaks, without transitions in their colour and thickness, are elements found in works by the well-known 17th-century Cretan artist.³

The healthy, doll-like face and plump, soft hands of the Virgin are also features favoured by Tzanes.

Of the examples most closely related to our icon in iconography and technique, we might mention the important icon by Tzanes in the Platytera Monastery in Corfu,⁴ in which we find the *Madre della Consolazione* in a variation of the type, containing all the iconographic and stylistic innovations of our icon.

In spite of the foregoing, a comparison between

our icon and the superbly-fashioned and executed representation of Corfu leads us to assign our icon to a workshop of lesser importance, but to one that is certainly very close to the painting of Tzanes.

Bibliography: Chatzidakis 1977, ill.48.

1. The Italo-Cretan representation of the *Madre della Consolazione* appears to have been established by Nikolaos Tzafouris, a Cretan artist of the second half of the 15th century. On the Palaeologan origin of the theme and its development into the Italo-Cretan form see the introductory note on the *Madre della Consolazione*, where also find the relevant bibliography.

2. On the important Cretan artist Emmanuel Tzanes Bounialis, whose life and work spans the larger part of the 17th century (1610-1690), see Xyngopoulos 1957, pp.222-240. Drandakis 1962. Vokotopoulos 1990, pp.104-123.

3. Among the most indicative works as regards this technique is the Adoration of the Magi in the Loverdos Collection, now in the Byzantine Museum [Xyngopoulos 1957, p.236. Drandakis 1962, p.155. Πύλες του Μυστηρίου 1994, no.12, pp.196-197, pl.12 (Baltoyianni)] and the Virgin Lambovitissa in the same Collection (Xyngopoulos 1957, pl.58.2).

4. Vokotopoulos 1990, no.78, ill.55.

74. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Rome. Private Collection.

Dimensions 0.365 x 0.20 m.

Early 16th century.

Pls.151, 152.



The representation deviates from the established type of the *Madre della Consolazione* in certain of its elements. The Virgin is portrayed here holding the Child on her left arm. The Christ Child is seated in marked *contrapposto*, with his legs on the left and his face turned towards the right. He blesses and holds

the usual sphere in front of his chest. This peculiar feature was not applied for the first time in this small painting and had been used before this in splendid Italo-Cretan icons of the 15th century,

such as the Virgin of Mytilene (pl.184) where, moreover, the Christ Child is shown turning towards his mother. This small icon from the collection in Rome, one of the later examples which follow the Mytilene icon and its prototype, finds its parallel in the Virgin in the Ravenna Museum,¹ who also holds the Child on her left, and with which it is linked by other elements as well. The small Child, with his babyish features, in the icon of the Museum of Ravenna, is here, too, pictured holding the sphere in front of his breast without extending his hand. In this case, this is also made necessary, by the way in which the Virgin has been portrayed, since, as she holds the Child on her left, he would have had to extend his hand towards the right, thus unbalancing the composition, as the sphere would be held outside it.

Stylistically the icon in Rome displays the artistic means familiar to us from the Italo-Cretan icons of this type, painted by 16th-century artists known as *madonneri*.² In it are applied simplistically and synoptically the popularised late - Gothic elements, un-

recognisable now and distanced from the competently executed works of the Italian artists. The drapery of the garments is stylised, with broad and soft folds and with large smooth sections in between. The coarser red on the Virgin's maphorion suggests the older purple or the luminous lacquer red colour of the early Cretan works, the faces are "doll-like" with diffused lights, while the hands are unarticulated. The above features, which are present both in our icon and in the Virgin of the Muse-

um of Ravenna, characterise a series of similar icons of the 16th century depicting variations of the Virgin and Child, which accordingly dates the work to the same period.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Angiolini Martinelli 1982, no.26, ill. on p.40.
2. Chatzidakis 1977, pp.675-690.

75. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Rome. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.63 x 0.785 m.

16th century.

Pls.148, 149, 150.



The icon represents the Virgin seated with the Child on her right knee. Her right arm encircles his waist, the palm of her hand is in front of his chest. With her left hand she touches his knee. The Christ Child is turned towards his mother, not in the usual *contrapposto*. He blesses and holds a sphere.

The variation is defined here mainly by the seated Virgin and the Child turned towards his mother. The change in the Virgin's position also dictated the change in the position of her right hand, which here is placed high up and below the Child's armpit.

This new scheme, which with certain particular differences is also applied by good Cretan workshops of the 17th century such as that of Emmanuel Tzanes,¹ presents a combination of elements borrowed from other representations of the Virgin and Child, as often happens in the Italo-Cretan icons of this period. The representation with the Virgin in a sitting position, from the knees up, but without any indication of a throne or other seat, reveals a kinship with the *Madonna de Humilitate*,² a familiar type in Western iconography created at the end of the 14th century and influencing, by the middle of the 15th century, the Italo-Cretan production of icons as well.

The Virgin *de Humilitate* is portrayed seated on a flowery or plain ground, or on a low hill, and usually in the type of the *Galaktotrophousa*. This Western representation, which is parallel to the Akra Tapeinosis of Christ, is connected with the meaning of

the future sacrifice of the Child, and constitutes a variant of the Virgin of the Passion. Besides, the type of the *Madre della Consolazione* seated on a low throne set within a landscape, had already been experimented with at the time of the painting of our icon. Among the interesting examples of this particular type we might mention the *Madre della Consolazione* by Angelos Pitzamanos in the church of S. Matteo in Bari. The iconographic relationship between the *Madre della Consolazione* in the private collection in Rome and the *Madonna de Humilitate* also indicates, in our view the semantic relationship of the two representations, which further reveals the identification of the *Madre della Consolazione* with the Virgin of the Passion.

As regards the other elements, the icon follows the established Italian prototype, with the western-type maphorion of the Virgin, open in front at the breast — except that here, instead of a clasp, it is tied with a small knot — and the broad, vertical golden-red band which runs along its edges and which is also encountered in other Italo-Cretan icons, such as the *Madre della Consolazione* in Patmos³ (pl.139) and the *Galaktotrophousa* in a private collection in Athens.

Finally, on the basis of the hard and uncertain forms in the draping of the maphorion, with its dark, black folds broadly drawn, the lighted parts rendered in lighter tones of the same red, the casual treatment of the decorative band and the grey-green underpaint of the flesh, we would date the icon to the 17th century and assign it to a local workshop in Dalmatia.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Vokotopoulos 1990, no.78, ill.5.
2. Goddard King 1935, pp.474-491. Meiss 1936, p.435.
3. Unpublished.

76. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*, with St. Catherine and St. Lucy.

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T226).

Dimensions: 0.60 x 0.615 m.

17th century.

Plates 153, 154, 155à-è, 156.



The icon represents the *Madre della Consolazione* in the variant showing the Virgin seated, with the Christ Child on her knee and her hand beneath the sole of the Child's foot (the left foot, here).

The Christ Child is seated in an almost frontal position, with his arms apart, in an open gesture, and his head turned slightly to the left of the painting. He holds an open scroll with the inscription: ΙΙΝΕΥΜΑ ΚΥΠΙΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΕΜΕ ΟΥ ΕΙΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΧΡΙCΕΝ ΜΕ. ("The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because he hath anointed me"). The Mother and Child group is flanked by the saints Catherine and Lucy, who are depicted standing and turned in a three quarters position towards the centre.¹

Saint Catherine, on the left, holds a palm branch in her hand in front of her breast, inclines her head slightly towards the Virgin and Child, and rests her right hand on the large wheel of her martyrdom behind her. She wears a blue chiton and a crimson Western-style maphorion with soft off-white lights, which covers her shoulders, leaving a large opening in front, wraps around her body all the way down and ends up over her left arm.

Saint Lucy, on the right, holds in her right hand a palm branch and in her left a cup, from which rises a red flame and at the bottom of which can be seen the saint's eyes, as mentioned in her legend. (According to one version of her *Life*, Lucy sent her eyes to her betrothed, when he denounced her as a Christian to the prefect Paschasius).

The representation of the Virgin and Child, as it is depicted in the central theme of the icon, constitutes a variation of the type of the *Madre della Consolazione*, in which appear certain particular elements which point to a Palaeologan model, a parallel of which it seems to follow. The Child's open arms and the unrolled scroll in his hand are found in the enthroned Virgin of the Correr Museum² that we have attributed to Andreas Ritzos, and also in the other examples of the type, namely the icon in the Benaki Museum, the icon of the Likhachev Collection, the icon of the former Willumsen Collection,³ as well as in the corresponding representation of the

Virgin in the Benaki Museum (pl.175), in which she is portrayed from the knees up. In the above Italo-Cretan representations the detail of the Virgin's hand beneath the Child's sole, or soles, also appears.

In spite of their common features, we nonetheless do not believe that our representation depends on the above kindred representations, which themselves constitute variations of an original prototype, also followed by our icon. Among the examples closest to the *Madre della Consolazione* in the icon of the Byzantine Museum we might mention the enthroned Virgin between St. Francis of Assisi and St. Catherine in the Pinacoteca Provinciale in Bari,⁴ signed by Donatos Pitzamanos in 1539. Of the elements of the Bari icon, besides the general scheme of the enthroned Virgin with Christ seated on her knee and her hand beneath the sole of his foot, our icon retains also the polygonal marble footrest, painted here in a similar shape. The differences which are observed when comparing the two works, such as the Christ Child's bare legs in the icon by Donatos Pitzamanos, and his turning towards the Virgin without the *contrapposto* of the Child in our icon, indicate an adaptation of the Bari icon to a representation of the Virgin and Child painted by Donatos' brother, Angelos Pitzamanos, in the icon of the Likhachev Collection.⁵

Finally, the original source of the representation and of all its related variations, standard elements of which are the Child's open arms, the marked *contrapposto* in which he is shown and the hand of the Virgin beneath the sole (or soles), is to be found in a Sienese model.

Among the best-known corresponding representations foreshadowing the emergence of this variation is that of the Virgin and Child in the central panel of a triptych in Roccalbegna,⁶ signed by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. There, the Child is once again on the Virgin's knee, on her left, in *contrapposto*, and with the hand of his mother beneath the sole of his right foot.

In spite of the great distance in time between the painting of the Sienese representation and that of the icon of the Byzantine Museum, as is proven by the stylistic features of the latter (which refer us to a workshop of the late 16th or the early 17th century), our icon retains the main characteristics of the type, which appear to be repeated in a series of intermediate works, very close to the iconography of the icon in Roccalbegna.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. Among the Italo-Cretan examples of the iconography showing the Virgin between St. Catherine

and St. Lucy, is the icon of the late 16th century in the Museum of Ravenna. See Angiolini Martinelli 1982, no.98, where the Virgin is portrayed as a Galaktotrophousa.

2. See introductory note to the *Madre della Consolazione*, where also find the relevant bibliography.

3. N. Chatzidaki 1983, ill.9.

4. *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, no.50.

5. Likhachev 1906-1908, no.97, pl.LIX.

6. Berenson 1968, pl.92.

77. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*, with Saint Joseph and Saint Catherine.

Rome. Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.36 x 0.46 m.

16th century.

Plates 157, 158, 159.



The icon represents the *Madre della Consolazione* in a variant showing the Virgin seated and the Child on her left knee. She bends towards

him, and with the index finger of her right hand she points to the sole of his bare foot. She wears the western-type red maphorion open in front of the breast, revealing her tightly girded chiton. Beneath her head covering, her western-type transparent veil falls freely in multiple folds. Large anthemion-shaped ornaments are painted in gold on the folds of her maphorion and a gold band decorated with pseudo-cufic designs runs along its hem. The Child, in slight *contrapposto*, is seated in an almost frontal position, with his face turned to the right of the icon. He is clad in a dark blue short-sleeved chiton embellished with gold stars, and a golden-red himation which leaves his right leg bare. Beneath the sleeve of his right arm can be seen his transparent shift,⁴ which also emerges from under his himation, covering the knee of his bare leg. In his hand he holds a golden ring which he is about to place on the index of the right hand of Saint Catherine, who is pictured beside him, on the right.

The Saint wears a Western-type gold diadem on her fair hair, which falls to her shoulders. She also wears a dark blue chiton and a red western-type mantle which covers her shoulders and falls freely, allowing a large part of her chiton to show in front. Her left hand rests on the wheel of her martyrdom, which is depicted before her. On the left and behind the Virgin, Saint Joseph — portrayed from the knees up — stands in an attitude of prayer, with his palms

held together in front of his breast.

The entire theme is set in front of a dark landscape with low hills and bushy cypress trees.

The iconography of the representation showing the Virgin in a variation of the *Madre della Consolazione* and in combination with the Betrothal of Saint Catherine² refers us once again to the meaning of the Child's sacrificial death, which is conveyed here through the use of individual and combined iconographic elements. The type of the Virgin and Child seated low down, without a throne or chair, a pictorial scheme related to the western representation of the *Madonna de Humilitate*,³ which constitutes a parallel of the Akra Tapeinosis in the cycle of the Passion of Christ, is complemented here by another two iconographic details, also suggestive of the future Passion of the Child: his bare right leg, covered only at the knee by the edge of his transparent shift, and the bare sole of his foot to which the Virgin points with the long index finger of her right hand, both of which details have been included among the significant elements related to the future Passion of Christ in the iconography of the Virgin and Child.

Their inclusion, now, in the representation of the Betrothal of Saint Catherine, further connects the representation of the Betrothal with that of the Passion.

The mystical marriage of Saint Catherine to Christ is revealed in her legendary encounter with the Emperor Maxentius, in which she declares that she is abandoning the vanities of worldly learning and is coming towards Christ "to become betrothed to him". The story of the saint, set down in Byzantine manuscripts, was already a part of the Byzantine tradition and by the 13th century had passed into western literature and art.⁴ The link, now, between her sacrifice and the death of Christ on the Cross, which most probably is also expressed here, is made clear in an inscription on the icon of the Benaki Museum⁵ depicting the enthroned Saint Catherine among her books and the instruments of her erudition abandoned to one side. According to the inscription that has been preserved there on the gold ground, on the right, the saint "is crucified and

buried together with Christ," her betrothed, ("CE NYMΦIE MOY ΠΟΘΩ ΚΑΙ ΖΗΤΟΥΣΑ ΑΘΛΩ ΚΑΙ CYCTAYΠOYMAI ΚΑΙ CYNΘAΠITO-MAI ΤΩ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΩ COY").

This last element — which also clarifies the meaning of this modest representation — proves that the widespread adoption of the iconography of these late Gothic works of 16th-century Italo-Cretan art, with the Virgin in the form of the *Madre della Consolazione* in several variations and different combinations, is especially connected with the deeper meaning they contain and with their relationship to the Passion.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

78. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (T365).

Dimensions: 0.24 x 0.19 m.

Pls. 160,161.



The icon, an early and very fine example of the iconographic type we have been looking at, represents the *Madre della Consolazione* as depicted in the Italo-Cretan series of the 15th century, in which the Child is shown holding a closed scroll in his left hand.

The representation belongs to a variation that on the whole, includes the main elements of the type, namely those which play a determinative role in its characterisation, but that varies from the usual pattern in that instead of the usual sphere held by the Child, he holds, here, a closed scroll upright on his knee.

The Virgin is portrayed holding the Christ Child on her right arm; with her left hand she touches the Child's knee. She is clad in the western-type maphorion characteristic of the type, secured in front by a large round clasp of gold, and the hem of which is bordered by a wide band adorned with a pseudo-cufic decorative pattern interrupted now and then by a diamond-shaped design. The maphorion is still of a deep crimson colour with purple tints and a few soft highlights of a brighter shade of red over white lights.

It differs from the icons of the series we are examining as regards the elaborate punched halo, adorned here with a foliate and flowered scroll, the closed volutes of which encircle the five-petalled blossoms.

1. Regarding the transparent shift of the Christ Child and its meaning in the representation of the *Madre della Consolazione*, see introductory note on the type.

2. Baltoyianni 1985, no.67, pl.25. See also the icon in Corfu (Vokotopoulos 1990, no.15, ill.100).

3. Goddar King 1935, pp.474-491. Meiss 1936, p.435.

4. Baltoyianni 1982/1983, pp.77-96.

5. Xyngopoulos 1936, no.67, pl.25.

This halo, one of the most beautiful of the series, is in harmony with the rich and intricate pseudo-cufic design of the gold band on the hem of the maphorion, with the elaborate "star" above the Virgin's forehead, and with the particularly striking feature of the Child's halo with the cross inscribed within it. It presents a deviation also in the way in which the Christ Child has been rendered; in this icon he is not the slenderly-built infant usually found in the type, but is given a strong neck, a full face, plump hands, and an ample and flowing himation.¹

The latter elements, in spite of their kinship with the artistic means of the earlier 15th-century, constitute older features that have lingered in the memory and that often survive in works of the second half of the century.² Finally, the figures, although late - Gothic in character, retain their austere and restrained expression, referring us once again to the principles and methods of 15th-century Cretan painting.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. The same type of Child presenting the same features — especially the short and sturdy neck — is found in the icon of Mytilene (pl.184) on the same theme, which was believed to be one of the oldest examples of the series. The other features of the icon, however, namely the youthful face of the Virgin with the more naive expression, markedly removed from the austerity of the countenance here, points to a workshop which is, to say the least, less academic.

2. The same seems to be the case with the painting of the *Madre della Consolazione* in the church of the Redentore in Venice, which has been dated to c.1500 (see N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.25, p.114, pl.25).

79. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (A149-ΣA148).

Dimensions: 0.49 x 0.365 m.

Late 15th century.

Plates 162, 163.



The icon constitutes one of the most interesting and important examples of the iconographic type of the *Madre della Consolazione* and deviates from its usual form in the detail of the closed scroll in the Child's right hand.

The closed scroll resting on the Christ Child's knee, pictured here, instead of the orb he holds in the more prevalent version of the type, brings the representation back to an Orthodox climate. The icon now reminds us more vividly of its Byzantine origin, to which some other of its features also refer us. The Child's mien is more hieratic and graver, and the melancholy expression of the Virgin more restrained.

As regards its other iconographic elements, the representation faithfully follows, even in its details, the familiar Italo-Cretan type produced by 15th- and 16th-century Cretan workshops in series and in variations. The Virgin, here, too, holding the Child on her right arm, is clad in the softly-draped western-type maphorion, which covers her shoulders and is secured in front of the breast with the usual gold clasp.

This is a skilfully-wrought work, as is evidenced by the elaborately-tooled halo of the Virgin, adorned

with the familiar foliate scroll of the Italo-Cretan icons of the 15th and 16th century, the volutes of which, here, surround meticulously-drawn flowers. Complex and elaborate, too, is the pseudo-cufic design on the wide band along the hem of the Virgin's maphorion. The halo of the Christ Child is inscribed with a cross, the arms of which are very wide in relation to the proportions of the icon, while the foliate decoration in the spaces between the arms is also intricately designed.

The modelling of the flesh is translucent, and the colours fine-grained and delicate: umber is used for the underpaint, while the highlighted parts, which partly blend with the colour of the underpaint, are rose-coloured.

The above features, among which predominates an assemblage of Western elements, codified by the Cretan workshops of the late 15th century and applied in accordance with their own principles, give to this type of icon a peculiar Italo-Cretan character. We continue to discern in such icons the grave, Orthodox expression and bearing of the figures, in spite of the effort made to integrate them into the western, late-Gothic atmosphere favoured by their Venetian clientele, the merchants who were placing large orders with the Cretan workshops of this period for icons of the Virgin.

The *Madre della Consolazione* of the Byzantine Museum, whose Western elements derive from an Italo-Cretan pictorial code already developed at the time, must be dated to the end of the 15th century and classed among the series of works produced in fulfilment of these large commissions.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

80. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (T2645).

Dimensions: 0.475 x 0.37 m.

Late 15th century.

Pls. 164, 165.



The representation faithfully reproduces the iconographic type of the *Madre della Consolazione*, in which the Virgin is portrayed holding the Child, who is seated upright and drawn in *contrapposto*, on her right arm. The Virgin, clad in her western-type maphorion with the large

round clasp securing it over the breast, touches the Child's knee with the fingertips of her right hand. In spite of the above, the representation belongs to a subdivision of the iconographic type, as the sphere in the Christ Child's hand has been replaced by a closed scroll turned downwards, as is indicated by the position of the Child's hand.

The dominant colour in the icon is the red of the Virgin's maphorion, with lighter tones of the same colour bringing out the highlighted areas. A very bright red is combined with radiating gold planes and dense striations on the himation of the Christ Child, forming a contrast with the dark blue-green of his chiton.

The modelling of the flesh is rendered with thinned brownish umber for the underpaint and wheat-coloured highlights with rosy tints for the

schematised luminous areas.

The soft late-Gothic delineation of the facial features, particularly those of the Virgin, her noble and sorrowful expression, the correct disposition of the drapery with the soft but still linear lighted parts and toneless shaded areas, assign the icon to a Cretan workshop of the late 15th century.

An element which also argues in favour of a dating of the work to the end of the 15th century is the inscription, in minuscules, dating from the same period, which, although effaced and difficult to decipher, is distinguishable on the back of the icon. It is possible to make out the date, 1484¹ and, lower down, a second date, 1540.

Finally, the icon of the Byzantine Museum, despite its particular features, finds a parallel in certain Italo-Cretan icons, with some of which it presents similarities in its individual elements as well.²

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. This clue is important to the dating of a large series of icons of the *Madre della Consolazione* — and of other Italo-Cretan iconographic themes — which, as a rule, do not bear the artist's signature or the date. In particular, it dates the icons presenting features we call late Gothic and which refer mainly to the overly sorrowful expression of the Virgin and to the particular modelling of the flesh, with the muted highlights and the delineation of the facial features only through the use of light. Characteristic of the type and determinative in dating these works to

the second half of the 15th century, is also the element of the long and unarticulated fingers, which once again are only delineated through the use of light. Also among the standard elements of these paintings are the off-white outlines of the eyes. To this group belong (among the older works): the icon of the Benaki Museum in a variant of the type of the *Madre della Consolazione* (pl.175); icon T365 of the Byzantine Museum (pl.160); icon T347 of the same Museum; the *Madre della Consolazione* Λ149-ΣΛ148 of the Loverdos Collection (pl.162), and the icon of the Hodegetria with the Child swathed in a swaddling band (pls.110-111), also kept in the Byzantine Museum. All the above icons are now dated to c.1484, the date of our icon.

2. An identical parallel of our icon and, most probably originating from the same workshop is the *Madre della Consolazione* of the Museo Diocesano in Bari, in which can be encountered all its iconographic and stylistic elements. It is also similar to the latter in its individual details, such as the pseudo-cufic ornamentation, the Virgin's cuffs, the shape of the folds of her maphorion, and even the shape of the "star" on her left shoulder.

We believe that the *Madre della Consolazione* of the Museo Diocesano can now be dated with greater accuracy to c.1484 — the date inscribed on the back of our icon, with which it is identical. On the icon of the Bari Museum, see *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata* 1988, no.53.

81. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Athens, Byzantine Museum (T347).

Dimensions: 0.33 x 0.25 m.

Late 15th century.

Pls.166, 167, 168.



The painting of the icon shows damage, which on the left and on the bottom sides reaches all the way down to the wood.

Against the gold ground, is portrayed the Virgin in half length and in the type of the *Madre della Consolazione*, holding the Child.

The Christ Child, small of stature, with a small face and slender limbs, is seated completely upright.¹ With his right hand he blesses, and in his left he holds a small, closed scroll turned downwards, as is indicated by the closed

hand, the back of which is turned towards the viewer.

The Virgin is clad in the maphorion usual in this iconographic type, secured at the breast by a round clasp that is very large in relation to the proportions of the other elements of the icon. The maphorion is dark crimson, with purple tints and with its few red highlights still rendered in linear strokes, alongside other, off-white, dark and toneless ones, for the more shaded folds. This very intricate rendering of the folds is in tune with other elements of the representation which indicate an artistically flourishing period and a good Cretan workshop. Among such elements, which in spite of their late-Gothic atmosphere,² attest to the Cretan provenance of the work, are the dense wavy outlines of the Virgin's diaphanous veil and, in particular, the restrained sorrowful expression of both Mother and Son.

Despite its small size and apparent insignificance at first sight, the icon is an interesting specimen of Cretan painting of the second half of the 15th century, in the form it assumes of necessity as a result of

the great demand for similar types which, according to the evidence provided by Venetian archives, the Cretan artists of this period are called upon to satisfy.

Bibliography: Chatzidakis 1974a, p.208, pl. KΘ'1.

1. Here, too, Christ is clad in a chiton adorned with gold crosses, and a diaphanous shift visible on his right arm.

2. Among the examples presenting the closest affinity with our icon and which show similar late - Gothic elements, such as the dull highlighting of the flesh and the off-white lines replacing the outlines

82. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Athens. Byzantine Museum (T1686).

Dimensions: 0.33 x 0.26 m.

Late 15th-early 16th century.

Plates 169, 170, 171.



The icon depicts the Virgin in the variation of the *Madre della Consolazione* in which the closed, upright scroll rests on the knee of the Christ Child. The scroll replaces, here, the orb symbolising royal power, an element established as a characteristic feature of the type by the Cretan artist, Nikolaos Tzafouris. This representation, which is rendered with particular care,

is characterised by the familiar stylistic elements classing it among the series of Italo-Cretan icons of the *Madre della Consolazione* dating from the late 15th or the early 16th century.

The Virgin once again is seen holding the Child on her right, resting her left hand on his knee and inclining her head towards him.

She wears the brownish-purple maphorion usual in this iconographic type, trimmed with a broad band adorned with a continuous and intricate pseudo-cufic pattern, and the completely transparent Western-type veil which falls, on the right hand side, to the base of her neck. Her sleeved chiton, is decorated around the neckline with a tooth-shaped design.

The maphorion is secured in front by a peculiar gold clasp in an elaborate ring shape, and has a dark green lining with lighter tones of the same colour. The Child is seated, here too, with his body upright and in *contrapposto*. His right hand is raised before his chest in the gesture of blessing and he holds a closed scroll in his left. His deep green chi-

ton is adorned with gold star-shaped designs and his red himation gleams with a few golden brushstrokes and small gold areas on the edges of the volumes.

The modelling of the faces has been executed with warm brownish-pink tints, a darker, translucent underpaint, and in lighter tones of the same colour in the highlighted areas. The facial features have been rendered with muted lights defining the outlines, in the manner which accords with the artistic resources of Italo-Cretan painting.

The slight touches of white at the eyes and the opaque irises impart to the gaze of the two figures an expression of vivacity and brightness. The interesting details of this charming work, its careful execution and the grave expression of the countenances — still far removed from the manneristic melancholy of later works — argue in favour of its attribution to a well-established Cretan workshop of the late 15th or the early 16th century.²

Finally, in spite of the quality of its overall appearance, the icon cannot easily be assigned to a particular 15th or 16th century Cretan workshop known to us. However, its small dimensions and the depiction in it of a well-known and frequently reproduced representation of the Virgin perhaps suggest an unknown Cretan *madonna* of the period.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. The warm brick colour on the luminous parts of the flesh, and the chestnut-brown underpaint, can be observed in the icon on the same theme in the church of the Redentore in Venice where, however, all the other artistic features of the icon are different (see N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.25).

2. Elements indicating the later date are, in our view, among others, the rich locks of the Christ Child's hair, which timidly suggest a classicizing and Renaissance-style tendency.

83. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Athens, Private Collection.

Dimensions: 0.45 x 0.34 m.

Late 16th century.

Pls. 172, 173, 174.



The icon represents the Virgin in a variant of the iconographic type of the *Madre della Consolazione* holding the Child on her left. The Christ Child holds an open scroll and a quill in his right hand. The Virgin is depicted against a gold ground, clad in a purple western-type maphorion

with a green lining, a bright blue chiton and a white, draped veil that can be seen under her headdress. A broad gold band adorned with the familiar pseudo-cufic decorative pattern, interrupted by cross-shaped designs, runs along the hem of her maphorion, which is secured at the breast with a large, round clasp.

The Child is seated on the Virgin's left arm. His head is slightly inclined to the right. His legs, turned towards the left of the icon, are covered by his golden-red himation with its rosy-grey lining. The himation leaves uncovered a large part of his chest and right arm, which is clad in the diaphanous white shift familiar in this iconographic type. His sleeveless chiton is green with yellowish glints. In his right hand he holds a quill, and in his left an open scroll with the inscription: MAKAPIOI OI ΦΥΛΛΑC-CONTEC T(AC) OΔOYC MOY ("Blessed is the man that heareth me").¹

The faces and the other exposed parts of the flesh are fully lighted, with translucent underpaint and

tonal gradations leading up to the brighter, rosy edges of the volumes. The eyes, with their soft, manneristic expression, are painted with grey-blue tints around the irises.

The representation has been rendered using the technical resources of Cretan art combined with late - Gothic elements, as these were codified and applied in the Italo-Cretan icons of the 15th and 16th centuries. At the same time, its more advanced and more obvious Western-style elements, the luminous Venetian-type colours, which are different in the lining of the garments, the soft modelling, the manneristic velvety expression of the eyes and the lights which are diffused on almost all the areas of the flesh, attest to its being an Italo-Cretan work of the late 16th century.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

1. The inscription "MAKAPIOI OI ΦΥΛΛΑC-CONTEC TAC OΔOYC MOY" appears also in the important icon of the *Madre della Consolazione* in the Museum of Ravenna, in which there is no quill in the Christ Child's hand but which otherwise includes several iconographic elements present in our icon. The himation of the Child, there also, is draped over the shoulder and over his left hand, where the different colour of its lining can be seen. The same gold "star" design of the clasp on the Virgin's maphorion is also present. Nonetheless, the stylistic differences between the two works most probably point to their being copies of the same prototype, executed at different periods. Our icon, with its Renaissance-type colouring and modelling, appears to distance itself from the Ravenna icon with its marked late - Gothic features, which date it to the second half of the 15th century. See Angiolini Martinelli 1982, no.32, who dates the icon to the 16th or the 17th century.

84. The Virgin *Madre della Consolazione*.

Petra, Mytilene, Church of St. George.

Dimensions: 0.488 x 0.364 m.

15th century.

Pls. 134, 184, 185.



The Virgin is portrayed from the waist up, holding the Child, in the iconographic type of the *Madre della Consolazione*, familiar to us mainly from the Italo-Cretan icons of the 15th century, and characterised by the manner in which the Child has been rendered

and by his posture in his mother's arms (see introductory note on the type, its origin and interpretation).

The representation here belongs to a variation of the *Madre della Consolazione*, in which the Child is not depicted with his face turned to one side and his legs towards the other in the familiar *contrapposto* established by the Cretan artists of the 15th century. The Christ Child is here again seated on the Virgin's left arm, in contrast to the representation in the icons of the Pavlos Kanellopoulos Collection (pl. 135) and the Trieste icon, signed by the important Cretan painter of the late 15th century, Nikolaos Tzafouris, in which the Child is seated on his mother's right arm. The Christ Child blesses with his right hand and in his left, holds a large orb before

his breast. The Virgin wears her Western-style maphorion, secured at the breast by a large quatrefoil clasp, under which can be seen a large part of her intricately draped chiton. Her white veil, which shows under her head covering, is completely transparent, and edged with an elaborate dentated border. The Virgin, exhibiting markedly Gothicising features here, is young, her face is softly modelled and is very close to the pictorial atmosphere of Duccio. The artist has used translucent underpaint on the shaded parts of the face, with muted highlights bringing into soft focus the triangular lighted parts of the youthful flesh. The nose is small, the eyes narrow, and their irises transparent, while the outlines of the low arches of the brows are very fine and barely discernible.

The above-mentioned features of this important icon indicate a provenance from a first-class Cretan workshop of the 15th century, very close to the practices and artistic resources of Nikolaos Tzafouris,² the well-known creator of perhaps the most important Cretan icons of the 15th century. Among the most noteworthy of his signed works, of interest as regards the determination of the date of execution and the provenance of the Mytilene icon, is the icon of Christ Helkomenos³ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, in which all the particularly refined features of the figures in our representation can be recognised in the faces of the young Roman soldiers accompanying Christ in bonds on the road to Calvary. The Virgin's small, dainty nose, delineated only by the use of light, the manner in which the edge of the volume of her chin is highlighted, her narrow eyes with the transparent irises, the al-

most non-existent outlines in the low arches of her brows, the off-white line along the lower outline of the right eye and the sensitively rendered wavy bright line along her lips, are elements also present in the classically beautiful face of the young soldier, the last figure on the left among the Roman guard following Christ "being led to the Cross".

The absolute similarity in the stylistic treatment of the face of the Virgin in our icon to that of the young Roman soldier in the icon of Christ Helkomenos signed by Tzafouris argues, we believe, in favour of the attribution of the Mytilene icon to this competent artist, at least two of whose signed icons on the same theme have also survived. The difference in execution between the Mytilene icon and the *Madre della Consolazione* of the Pavlos Kanellopoulos Collection (pl.135) characterised by simpler artistic means, can perhaps be explained by the fact that our icon was executed, for some reason, in a more meticulous and lavish manner. This is also indicated by the valuable gilded frame of our icon, in harmony with the many gold striations of the representation itself, which most probably suggests that it was commissioned by a rich client.

Bibliography: Mastoropoulos 1981, p.387, pl.284.

1. Bianco Fiorin 1983, pp.164-169.
2. Chatzidakis 1974a, pp.183-188.
3. Chatzidakis op.cit., p.187, pl. 10'. *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.52, pls.134-135 (Kalas).

85. The Virgin Enthroned, between Saint Francis and Saint Vincent Ferrer.

St. Petersburg. Hermitage Museum.

Dimensions: 1.70 x 1.685 m.

15th century.

Plates 180, 181, 182.



In this variation of the Italo-Cretan representation of the *Madre della Consolazione*, the Virgin, enthroned and holding the Child, is being crowned by two angels. She is flanked by two saints of the Catholic church, depicted standing and turned three quarters towards her. All three figures are set

below corresponding carved and gilded wooden arched frames supported on the two sides only by spiralling colonnettes. The bottom part of the representation is bordered by a broad, carved wooden band decorated with foliate designs in late-Gothic tracery, between which, in the centre, are set three roundels, the one in the middle bearing the donor's coat-of-arms, while on the one on the left can be seen the first part of the donor's name, which is continued on the roundel on the right.

The entire representation has a markedly westernising air, and depicts the Virgin, turned three quarters towards the right, seated on a marble throne with a pointed back decorated with fleurs-de-llys. She inclines her head towards the Child, whom she holds on her left arm, while with her right palm, from which hangs a Catholic rosary, she supports the soles of his feet.

The Christ Child, almost suspended in mid-air,

appears to be falling from his mother's lap, as he still holds on to the edge of her maphorion in front of her breast with his right hand. He is clad in a white, full-length chiton and a sleeveless *sakkos* with a rectangular *prostethion* adorned with gold pseudo-cufic characters (on the interpretation of this symbolic element, see interpretative note on the type of the *Madre della Consolazione*). The representation is richly decorated, and complemented by the precious gem-studded gold crown of the Virgin, the punched halo with its foliate scroll and floral motifs, the dense gold striations on her Western-style maphorion, the fleur-de-lys design on their long stalks embellishing her richly draped high-waisted chiton, the foliate motifs on the circular or rectangular frames in the front parts of the throne.

In contrast to the sumptuous and lavishly decorated central representation, the two Catholic monks-saints are rendered simply. Saint Francis, on the left, is easily recognisable by the bleeding stigma, on his right side, visible through the rent in his habit. The stigmata, which emanate from the figure of Christ, on the cross held by the saint in his left hand, are also directed towards the saint's hands and feet. In his right hand he holds a closed book, as he turns towards the Virgin, while presenting his face towards the viewer.

The saint on the right is not difficult to recognise either, as he wears the black Dominican mantle, open in front of the chest, and holds an open book with the Latin inscription: TIMETE DEUM ET DATE ILLI HONOREM QUIA VENIT HORA IUDICIS EJIUS. The inscription, often found in the representations of Saint Vincent Ferrer, is related to the *Predicationes* of this Dominican saint, in which he warned the faithful that the Hour of Judgement¹ was at hand. Also linked to the Second Coming is the miniature representation of Christ the Judge, in a mandorla, above and to the left of the saint, to whom St. Vincent points with his slightly raised right hand.

Our icon, perhaps the most important work of the so-called Italo-Cretan art of the 15th century, is connected, as regards its central theme, both iconographically and stylistically with another four Italo-Cretan icons representing the Virgin in the same iconographic form and using comparable artistic means. Of interest to our study is the well-known enthroned Virgin of the Correr Museum, which is similar to our icon in several of its details as well. Both representations depict the Virgin being crowned by two angels, an element which is absent from the remaining icons of the series. The enthroned Virgin of the Benaki Museum, which appears to apply the same iconographic type more simply, is also depicted without the Coronation (pl.178).

Simpler in means and execution, the icon on the same theme, which has recently² been identified with that of the former Willumsen Collection, is removed both qualitatively and chronologically from our representation. Of particular interest, as regards the adoption and establishment of this iconographic type, is also the small but exceptionally fine icon of the Benaki Museum, which follows the same type, but shows the Virgin from the knees up (pl.175). This new application of the type, which obviously originates from the full-length enthroned Virgin, most probably means that the original icon was a respected prototype which served as a model for simpler, but noteworthy, for all that, copies.

We do not as yet know the identity of the creator of the original icon, since none of the works that have been preserved bears the signature of the artist. The icon of the Correr Museum has been connected³ with the art of the well-known Cretan painter of the 15th century, Andreas Ritzos, elements of whose painting have been recognised both in certain iconographic details of the representation — such as the shape and treatment of the throne, which Ritzos applies in the enthroned Virgin in Patmos⁴ — and in its style. Nonetheless the question of the attribution of the creation of the type still remains open, and the assignment of our icon to a particular date and workshop will be of great help in directing us to the creator of the work who — judging from its superb execution and quality — is undoubtedly a great Cretan painter of the 15th century.

As we have said, the Virgin in the former Likhachev Collection is flanked by the saints of the Catholic church, Francis and Vincent. This suggests that the icon was commissioned by a Catholic client, whose name is, besides, revealed by the inscription and the heraldic device on the lower part of the icon. According to an article published by Cattapan,⁵ the name which can be read on the two roundels on the left and right of the escutcheon is that of the Venetian Matteo de Medio — known to us from archival records — who was buried in 1510 in the church of St. Francis, in Candia. If all the above is correct, then our icon may have been dedicated to a chapel of the church of St. Francis in Candia, since — again according to Cattapan — the church was the burial site for other members of the de Medio family.

Notwithstanding this, the presence in our icon of the Dominican saint, Vincent, of whom no chapel, as far as we know, is documented as having existed in the church of St. Francis in Candia, presents difficulties for such an identification of the work. On the contrary, the saint appears to have been worshipped in the important Catholic church of St. Peter Martyr in the same town. According to a report written in

1625 by the Archbishop of Crete, Luca Stella,⁶ after an inspection of the Latin monasteries and churches of Candia, there was an altar dedicated to Saint Vincent in the Dominican monastery of St. Peter Martyr in that city. In Luca Stella's report, a chapel to St. Vincent is also mentioned as having existed in the precinct of the same monastery, with an altar "*dedicato a Santo Vincenzo*".

We do not know, of course, what was depicted on the altarpieces of the two altars of St. Vincent, nor do we have the date of their execution. It appears, however, from Stella's report that the main altarpiece of the Monastery depicted the Coronation of the Virgin, who was portrayed enthroned between the standing saints Peter and Paul, an iconographic scheme repeated in our representation with a different pair of standing saints.

It now seems more probable that the icon of the Likhachev Collection, which constituted the altarpiece of the chapel of an important Catholic church, as is proven by its shape, its large dimensions, its marked Gothic air and the sumptuousness of its execution, belonged to the Dominican Monastery of St. Peter Martyr in Candia, in which there were, besides the chapel, at least another two altars dedicated to the Dominican saint, Vincent.

The parallel depiction, at the same time, of Saint Francis does not stand in the way of such an hypothesis, in view of the efforts made by the Dominicans to place their Order on the same footing as the great Order of the Franciscans.

The contrary view — that the icon might have belonged to the church of St. Francis — appears less likely, as in such a case, it would have been more natural to have represented Saint Dominic, the founder of the Order of the Dominicans, next to the founder of the Order of the Franciscans. Besides, this is proven by the frequent depiction of the two saints together, both in Western painting and in 15th-century⁷ Cretan icons. This fact confused researchers, who until recently erroneously identified the right-hand saint of our representation as saint Dominic.⁸

Stylistically, the icon presents elements typical of the art of a 15th-century Cretan painter highly skilled in working in the "*maniera a la latina*". It is obvious that there are combined, here, elements of the work of Catarino, Lorenzo and Paolo Veneziano, as well as other features borrowed from western prototypes of the third quarter of the 15th century. Among the early Gothic elements we note the exceedingly delicate rendering of the Virgin's face, her rosy, maidenly cheeks, which, physiognomically as well, bring her very close to the enthroned Virgin in the Catarino⁹ triptych in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice (which also houses the icon of the

Coronation of the Virgin,¹⁰ executed in the same manner by the same artist) and the enthroned Virgin in the painting of the Betrothal of St. Catherine by Lorenzo Veneziano¹¹ — akin in its iconography also to our icon — as well as to the enthroned Virgin being crowned by two angels painted by Paolo Veneziano.¹²

Also in the same climate is the portrayal of the figure of Saint Francis, whose facial features present an affinity with those of Saint Nicholas da Tolentino in the same Catarino triptych in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice.¹³ Equally striking is the resemblance of the Child in our icon with the Christ Child in the arms of the enthroned Virgin in a painting by the artist "in Badia a Isola" — an assistant and collaborator of Duccio's — in the church of Santi Salvatore e Cirino.¹⁴ Finally, the shape of the throne and the manner in which it is rendered are common in Gothic art, as is proven by the similarity of the one in our icon to the thrones in images and altarpieces by well-known western painters of the time.¹⁵

The chronologically advanced elements of the icon, which cannot be dated earlier than the third quarter of the 15th century, chiefly concern certain particular iconographic characteristics in the portrayal of the figure of Saint Francis, as well as the entire appearance of Saint Vincent. Among the characteristics in the depiction of Saint Francis that lead to a dating to the third quarter of the century we must note mainly the large crucifix in the saint's hands, from which radiate the stigmata towards his side, his hands and his feet. Although Christ is shown enframed in six red wings, a feature which constitutes an old Gothic iconographic device, its application to a cross held by the saint in his hands is an innovation. The saint holding the crucifix is encountered in the triptych of Antoniazio Romano, dated to 1467, in the church of St. Francis at Subiaco;¹⁶ on a side panel of the Massone polyptych in the Louvre¹⁷ dated to 1490; and in the Aleni icon of 1500, with the enthroned Virgin and Franciscan saints,¹⁸ in the Cremona Gallery of Art. Finally, Saint Francis holding the large crucifix, with Christ enframed within the six-winged symbol from which radiate the stigmata, appears in a painting by Grivelli (dated between 1481 and 1500) in the National Gallery in Washington.¹⁹

Moreover, the appearance in western iconography of the figure of Saint Vincent does not seem to be much older, since we know that the canonisation of Saint Vincent did not take place before the middle of the 15th century (1455).²⁰ The saint is frequently depicted in the third quarter of the 15th century by the Venetian workshops of the period, or by other workshops not unrelated with Venetian painting.

In 1450-55 he is painted by Bellini for the

church of S. Giovanni e Paolo (Zanipolo) in Venice²¹ and, again together with Saint Francis, by the workshop of the same Venetian artist.²² St. Vincent is also painted by Andrea da Murano,²³ as well as by Francesco del Cossa from Ferrara, who depicts the saint holding an open book and Christ, as the Judge of the Second Coming, within a mandorla above the saint,²⁴ in the same form as in our icon. Antoniazio Romano, in the church of Santa Sabina in Rome,²⁵ paints Saint Vincent pointing towards Christ, who is seated on a bank of clouds.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that the painting is characterised by a combination of iconographic and stylistic features pertaining to different schools and periods, among which can be discerned those characteristic of a Cretan workshop of the third quarter of the 15th century, which seems to have produced the work. The main features of the representation — in particular the enthroned Virgin in the central part of the icon — are often encountered in paintings by the well-known Cretan artist of the second half of the 15th century, Andreas Ritzos. As has previously been seen, Andreas Ritzos uses the shape and type of the Gothic throne for his enthroned Virgin in Patmos,²⁶ which, in all its other elements, constitutes a genuine "*a la maniera greca*" work executed by a Cretan hand. The same element is also to be noted in other Cretan icons of the same period that have been attributed to the same artist.²⁷ From the same pictorial source stems also the choice of the cylindrical cushion for the enthroned figure which, as has already been noted,²⁸ is a feature frequently used by the same workshop. Also, the punched halo with the foliate scroll, the volutes of which encircle rosettes of six schematised petals, appears to be a feature introduced by Andreas Ritzos in his mature period. We know that this element is not used by the earlier Cretan artist, Angelos.

In spite of the affinity of the enthroned Virgin of the Hermitage Museum with corresponding figures in the painting of Andreas Ritzos, the entire representation presents certain particular characteristics which place the work closer to the workshop of the later Cretan artist, Nikolaos Tzafouris. Among the most important Italo-Cretan works signed by this well-known artist, we find that the icon in the Metropolitan Museum in New York depicting Christ Helkomenos²⁹ reveals a close stylistic and iconographic relationship with our icon. Beyond the exceedingly delicate modelling in the flesh of the figures, which is observed also in the face of the enthroned Virgin of the Hermitage Museum, we find in that icon the particular physiognomic features of the two Catholic saints, which are not those of the corresponding figures by Andreas Ritzos. Saint Francis, and the Catholic saint, Dominic, were in-

deed painted by Andreas Ritzos, but with Gothic features, as we can see in the icons which have been attributed with certainty to him.³⁰ On the contrary, we encounter the deep expressive furrows on the corners of the mouth, between the brows and on the forehead of the two saints, rendered in the same hard manner in the Roman soldier dragging Christ behind him in the icon of Christ Helkomenos (pls.182, 183). The lips, too, as well as the entire Renaissance-like expression of the two figures of our icon are also duplicated.

Finally, the Hermitage icon is related to that of the Metropolitan Museum in other ways as well. The dimensions and the placing of the work within a carved wooden frame reveal that the Christ Helkomenos most probably belonged to a western *pala* and constituted one of the scenes of the Passion which are often included in western polyptychs destined for Catholic altars. We know, today — following the publication of the notarial archives of Crete by Cattapan — that Nikolaos Tzafouris received a commission from the Provveditore of Nauplion, Johannes Nanni, in 1492, to paint the *pala* of a Catholic church in the town.³¹ Moreover, judging from the dimensions of the icon of the Metropolitan Museum and those of the polyptych recorded in the relevant notarial document, the icon of Christ Helkomenos could arguably have belonged to the *pala* in Nauplion, if its iconographic programme was the same as that of the polyptych by Paolo Veneziano in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice, which includes a painting of Christ Helkomenos together with another four scenes of the Passion.³²

In conclusion, we would say that the Hermitage icon was originally an altarpiece in a chapel dedicated to Saint Vincent or to Saint Francis in the church of St. Peter Martyr in Candia belonging to the Dominican Order. It should be dated to the end of the 15th century and, on the basis of its stylistic features, could be ascribed to Nikolaos Tzafouris, who most probably follows an icon by Andreas Ritzos.

Bibliography: Likhachev 1906-1908, pls. LII and LIV. Schweinfurth 1930, p.411. Bettini 1933, p.59. Lazareff 1954, ill.85. Pallucchini 1964 ill.610. Koustodieva 1989, no.42, pp.90-92.

1. Reau 1959, III, pp.1331-1332.
2. Chatzidaki 1993, no.10, pp.52-54, ill.9.
3. Op.cit.
4. Chatzidakis 1977, p.61, no.10, pl.12.
5. Cattapan 1972, pp.233-234. Cattapan 1973, p.27.
6. Panagiotakis 1986, p.105.
7. See the icon of the Dormition in the Pushkin

Museum, painted in the form of a triptych — with the Dormition on the central panel and the saints Francis and Dominic flanking the Virgin. Most recently published in *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, no.87, p.438, pl.87 (Etinhof), where also find the earlier bibliography.

8. See Bettini 1978, p.214.

9. Moschini-Marconi 1955, no.3, p.7, pl.3.

10. Op.cit., no.4.

11. Op.cit., no.7.

12. Op.cit., no.13.

13. Op.cit., no.3.

14. Stubblebine 1979, ill.166.

15. Berenson 1968, II, ill.43,59,60.

16. Berenson op.cit. III, ill.1088.

17. Op.cit., ill.1214.

18. Op.cit., ill.1637.

19. *National Gallery of Art, Book of Illustrations*, Washington 1942, ill.320 on p.92.

20. Dunkerton et al. 1991, p.302. I owe the indication to Mr Evangelos Zournatzis.

21. The work, dated initially to 1472 (see Reau op.cit., p.1331), has been re-dated recently to between 1450 and 1455 by R. Goffen ("Giovanni Bellini and the Altarpiece of St. Vincent Ferrer", in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smith*, I, Firenze 1985, pp.227-295) who presents very strong arguments in support of this view. (It is mentioned by Alberto de Nicolo Slamazo, "La pittura Rinascimentale a Padova", in *La pittura in Italia: Il Quattrocento*, Milan 1987, p.177). I owe this information to Mr Evangelos Zournatzis, who pointed out to me the relevant bibliography, and whom I warmly thank.

22. Op.cit.

23. Moschini-Marconi op.cit., no.85.

24. The central panel of the Griffoni polyptych, with the representation of Saint Vincent is to be found today in the National Gallery in London (see Dunkerton et al 1991, pp.302-305, pl. On p.303).

25. Berenson 1968, III, pl.1092.

26. Chatzidakis 1977, p.61, no.10.

27. See the triptych of the Benaki Museum (Chatzidakis op.cit., pl.205a) and the icon of Christ Pantocrator, which has also been attributed to Andreas Ritzos (Chatzidakis op.cit., pl.205b. *Εικόνες της Κρητικής Τέχνης* 1993, no.140, p.496, where also find the earlier bibliography).

28. N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.10.

29. *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988, no.52.

30. See the icon of the Dormition with Saints Francis and Dominic in the Puskhin Museum (note 7 above) and the triptych of the Benaki Museum (Chatzidakis 1974a, pl. KH'1.)

31. Cattapan 1972, pp.209-210.

32. Moschini-Marconi op.cit., no.12, pp.15-16, pl.12a.

86. The Virgin and Child Enthroned

Athens. Benaki Museum.

Dimensions: 1.15 x 0.52 m.

Late 15th century.

Pls.178, 179.



The enthroned Virgin of the Benaki Museum has been included here in the variant of the *Madre della Consolazione* and follows, as has been mentioned elsewhere (see relevant introductory note), the iconographic scheme of the enthroned Virgin of the Correr Museum,¹ which is also to be found in the icon on the same theme of the Hermitage Museum, in which the Virgin is shown enthroned between saint Francis and the Dominican saint, Vincent Ferrer (pl.180).

The Virgin is pictured holding the Christ Child on her left arm. The Child seems almost suspended in mid-air, so that he appears to be falling from his mother's lap, but still hanging on to the edge of her maphorion at the breast.

The icon presents an identical iconography with that of the icons of the Hermitage and the Correr Museum as regards most of the important elements of the type, such as the position and attitude of the two figures, the shape and appearance of the marble throne, the Virgin's Western-type chiton, her dark blue maphorion with its dense gold striations, the diaphanous shift of the Child and his sleeveless chiton with the *prostethion*. However, despite the absolute iconographic similarity it presents with the other two, our icon appears to render the type in a simpler manner, without the element of the Coronation of the Virgin by the two angels, which complements these representations. It also presents a small

deviation in the closed scroll in the Child's left hand, which is not present in the icon of the Correr Museum nor in the same representation of the Hermitage. The latter feature, which appears, on the contrary, in a later icon on the same theme, in the former Willumsen Collection,² seems to be indicative of the application of the type to a later, more conservative formula and one closer to the principles of Orthodox Cretan art.

In spite of the foregoing, the affinity of our icon with the icon in the Hermitage, which most probably was originally the altarpiece of a Catholic chapel in Candia (see preceding notes on the icon of the Hermitage Museum), is a very close one. The Virgin of the Benaki Museum must have occupied a similar position, as is suggested by certain particular iconographic stylistic and technical elements of the icon, which lead us to this view. Among the most indicative of these elements, we note the tall and narrow shape of the panel, a shape which often characterises the central panel of triptychs intended for Catholic altars. Moreover, traces on the gold ground and the upper part of the icon, which were most probably those left by an arched carved wooden frame, in which the painting must once have been set, became apparent when the icon was cleaned. The damage, also, on the edges of the two vertical sides of the icon, most probably caused by nails or other connecting elements, prove that the icon was once attached to side panels.

In accord with the above view are the marked Gothicising features of the work, and its faithful reproduction of the type of the enthroned Virgin in

the icon of the Hermitage, the previous location of which, on a Catholic altar, has been ascertained. Also in harmony with the Gothic character of the representation are the Greco-Latin contractions IHS XRS on the gold ground and above right.

Finally, as we have also pointed out in the introductory note on the origin and development of the type, the icon could arguably be ascribed to the workshop of Nikolaos Tzafouris on the basis of its stylistic features, which present a kinship with the means of the Cretan artist. Besides, we know that Nikolaos Tzafouris, who established the pictorial scheme of such Italo-Cretan representations as the *Madre della Consolazione*, also painted Catholic altarpieces, as is certified by documents found in Venetian archives, which mention a commission received in 1492 by Nikolaos Tzafouris from the Provveditore of Nauplion, Johannes Nanni, to paint the *pala* of a Catholic church in Nauplion.³

Bibliography: Xyngopoulos 1951, p.31, pl.21. *Βυζαντινή Τέχνη* 1964, no.222. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.179, pl.I'1. Chatzidakis 1977, p.688, ill.51. N. Chatzidaki 1983, no.42, p.50, pl.42. *Πύλες του Μυστηρίου* 1994, no.49, p.228, pl.49 (Vassilaki).

1. Willumsen 1927, I, p.75. Bettini 1933, p.23. Mariacher 1952, p.261. Mariacher 1957, pp.131-132. N. Chatzidaki 1993, p.93.

2. *Icônes grecques, melkites, russes* 1993, no.3, pp.58-59. N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.10, pp.52-54, pl. On p.53.

3. Cattapan 1972, pp.209-210.

87. The Virgin and Child.

Athens. Benaki Museum (Γ107).

Dimensions: 0.47 x 0.58 m.

Late 15th century.

Pls.175, 176, 177.



The Virgin is depicted from the knees up and in a variation of the *Madre della Consolazione*. She is clad in a maphorion open at the breast, in a western-style transparent veil, and a sleeved chiton which shows through the opening of her maphorion. She encircles the Child with her left arm, holding him

on her knee, in the manner of the *Madre della Consolazione*. With her right palm she supports the sole of

the Child's left foot, as she inclines her head towards him, her gaze directed beyond the viewer. The Christ Child turns towards his mother, his right hand grasping the edge of her maphorion. In his left hand, extended to his left, he holds an open scroll with the inscription: ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΦΥΛΑΑCCONΤΕC ΤΑC ΟΔΟΥC ΜΟΥ ("Blessed is the man that heareth me...") (Proverbs 8:34). He wears a diaphanous shift, which shows beneath his gold-threaded, short-sleeved chiton and which covers his knees and his hands, left uncovered by his chiton.¹ He is a large and sturdy child with babyish features. A punched halo with a foliate scroll drawn in open volutes surrounds each of the two figures.

The representation, familiar to us from other similar examples of Italo-Cretan art of the 15th and 16th century, is one of the most important works of the series, and its stylistic features date it to the end of the 15th century. Its marked late-Gothic elements, in particular the low, scimitar-shaped brows

of the Virgin, the white outlines of her narrow eyes, filled by large elliptical irises, her small but full lips, the large, muted lights (not yet markedly triangular on the luminous parts of the face), the fleshless fingers, constitute well-known characteristics of 15th-century Italo-Cretan painting, which, through its own Gothicising means and its own late-Gothic atmosphere, is able to render themes favoured mainly by Catholic patrons.

The above features in the reproduction of these works with their peculiarly Cretan late-Gothic character appear to constitute elements of a common artistic code of the 15th-century Cretan workshops, which is faithfully applied and which does not allow us to recognise the personal palette of a particular creator from among other similar and contemporaneous examples, which are usually unsigned.

In spite of this, certain particular features formulate differences, which are indicative of different workshops and of a different period. The elements held in common by the icon of the Benaki Museum, that of the enthroned Virgin of the same Museum, which renders the type in a more complete² form (pl.178), that of the icon on the same theme in the Correr Museum³ in Venice and that of the Likhachev Collection in St. Petersburg⁴ (pl.180), beyond their obvious iconographic kinship, are once again the fine lines of the arches of the brow, the large, elliptical, almost transparent irises filling the whites of the eyes, and the muted lights on the luminous parts of the flesh. At the same time we can distinguish the differences which point to different workshops. The rosy blush and soft modelling on the youthful and exceedingly beautiful face of the Virgin in the Correr Museum, still very close to the artistic resources and principles of Paolo Veneziano, together with the other stylistic features of the icon, suggest, an early Cretan workshop, which using as comparative elements the soft, rosy cheeks — rendered in fine-grained colours and soft modulations — of the enthroned Virgin in Patmos, signed by Andreas Ritzos,⁵ must be placed in the middle of the 15th century. With the icon in Patmos, moreover, the Virgin of the Correr Museum — despite the different theme and the different *maniera* of the two works — shows a kinship in certain other features as well, such as the shape and style of the marble throne, which is rendered here in the same manner.

On the contrary, we shall assign to a later period and to the Cretan artist of the late 15th century, Nikolaos Tzafouris, the icon of the Likhachev Collection, which proclaims the superb skill of its creator in rendering the representation "*a la latina*". On the strength of the acknowledged particular skill of the artist in creating important Italo-Cretan icons — evident in the surviving signed works by Tzafouris —

and also of the well-known preference shown for his painting by Venetian nobles, such as the Proveditore of Nauplion, who commissioned from him the *pala* of a Catholic church of the town,⁶ a comparison has been attempted between the icon of the Likhachev Collection and the Way to Calvary (Christ Helkomenos) signed by Tzafouris and now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, a comparison which has revealed a good number of stylistic and physiognomic similarities between the figures in the two paintings (for more specific observations see the presentation here of the icon of the Likhachev Collection).

We are referred to the same circle by the enthroned Italo-Cretan Virgin of the Benaki Museum which, in spite of the simplified rendering of the representation and its stylistic differences with the icon of the Likhachev Collection, reveals its kinship with the period and the artistic means of Tzafouris' workshop. The less elaborately modelled, triangular lighted parts of the Virgin's face, with the unsure handling of the features, as well as the small stature of the Child with the fine, small hands, are indicative of certain weaknesses of the artist, which are not absent from lesser works by Tzafouris, such as the triptych in the Hermitage Museum and, to a smaller extent, the icon of the *Madre della Consolazione* of the Pavlos Kanellopoulos Collection (pl.135). At the same time, certain obvious skills of the artist, revealed in the solidly structured form of the enthroned Virgin, in the variety of the folds of her maphorion and, especially, in the painterly rendering of her right hand, which supports both soles of the Christ Child's feet, do not exclude the attribution of the work to the circle of the well-known Cretan painter.

We must now assign our icon — with its more synoptic rendering of the Virgin from the knees up, which is a derivation of the type of the enthroned Virgin, in a simplified version of the scheme, in which the marble throne of previous representations is omitted — to a date that is later than, but very near to, that in which the enthroned Virgin of the Benaki Museum was produced. The other particular elements of the icon also appear in a conventionalised form, especially the Virgin's fleshless hands, rendered only through the use of light, the harder lines of the features of her face, her melancholy gaze. The more ancient elements, such as the sturdy Child, and certain carefully elaborated details, such as the diaphanous edge of the shift which covers his legs, perhaps bear witness to the survival of an older, most probably notable and venerated prototype, which continues to be reproduced even after the adoption of the fully-developed and at the same time declining form of the type, as it is seen in the

enthroned Virgin of the Benaki Museum.

Bibliography: Xyngopoulos 1939, no.78.

1. His chiton is ornamented on the bosom with a rectangular painted frame enclosing an anthemion-shaped design. The same element, which appears in the enthroned Virgin of the same iconographic type in the Likhachev Collection, in the icon of the Correr Museum on the same theme, and in the same representation in the icon of the Benaki Museum, is decorated with pseudo-cufic characters, a reminder of the pectoral ornament of the Jewish costume inscribed with the names of the high priests of each

tribe. Its significance is explained by St. Gregory of Nyssa (see introductory note on the interpretation of the type).

2. Xyngopoulos 1951, p.31, pl.21. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.179, pl.I'1. Chatzidakis 1977, p.688, ill.51. N. Chatzidaki 1983, no.42, p.50, pl.42. *Πύλες του Μυστηρίου* 1944, no.49, p.228, pl.49 (Vassilaki).

3. Mariacher 1957, pp.131-132. Pallucchini 1964, ill.676. Muraro 1970, ill.136. N. Chatzidaki 1993, no.10, pp.52-54, pl. on p.53.

4. Likhachev 1906-1908, no.89, pl.LIII.

5. Chatzidakis 1977, no.10, pl.12.

6. Cattapan 1972, pp.209-210.

7. Chatzidakis 1974a, p.184 ff.



Pl. 135. Nicholas Tzafouris. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.69). Athens. Pavlos Kanellopoulos Collection. Second half of the 15th century.

Pl. 136. Detail of pl. 135





Pl. 137. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (αριθ. 69). Thessalonike. D. Ekonomopoulos Collection. Second half of the 15th century.



Pl. 138. Detail of pl. 137



Pl. 139. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.70). Patmos. Chōra. Church of the Presentation (Hypapanti). Early 16th century.



Pl. 140. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.71). Athens, Byzantine Museum (Α410 - ΣΑ354). First half of the 16th century.



Pl. 141. Detail of pl. 140

Pl. 142. Detail of pl. 140





Πίν. 143. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.72). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T2157). Early 16th century.





Pl. 145. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.73). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T260). Second half of the 17th century.

Pl. 146. Detail of pl.145.





Pl. 147. Detail of pl. 145



Πίν. 148. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.75). Rome. Private Collection. 16th century.

Pl. 149. Detail of pl. 148







Pl. 151. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.74). Rome. Private Collection. Early 16th century.



Pl. 152. Detail of pl. 151



Pl. 153. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione with St. Catherine and St. Lucy (no.76). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T226). 17th century.

Pl. 154. Detail of pl. 153





Pl. 155α-β - Details of pl. 153



Pl. 156. Detail of pl. 153



Pl. 157. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione with St. Joseph and St. Catherine (no.77). Rome.
Private Collection. 16th century.





Pl. 158. Detail of pl. 157



Pl. 159. Detail of pl. 157



Pl. 160. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.78). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T365). Second half of the 15th century.

Pl. 161. Detail of pl. 160





Pl. 162. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.79). Athens. Byzantine Museum (A149-ΣA148). End of the 15th century.



Pl. 163. Detail of pl. 162



Pl. 164. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.80). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T2645). End of the 15th century.



Pl. 165. Detail of pl. 164



Pl. 166. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.81). Athens, Byzantine Museum (T347). End of the 15th century.

Pl. 167. Detail of pl. 166







Pl. 168. Detail of pl. 166

Pl. 169. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.82). Athens. Byzantine Museum (T1686). Late 15th - early 16th century



Pl. 170. Detail of pl. 169

Pl. 171. Detail of pl. 169





Pl. 172. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.83). Athens. Private Collection. End of the 16th century

Pl. 173. Detail of pl. 172





Pl. 174. Detail of pl. 172



Pl. 175. Virgin and Child (no.87). Athens. Benaki Museum. End of the 15th century



Pl. 176. Detail of pl. 175

Pl. 177. Detail of pl. 175



ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΙ
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Pl. 178. The Virgin and Child Enthroned (no.86). Athens. Benaki Museum. End of the 15th century

Pl. 179. Detail of pl. 178





Pl. 180. The Virgin Enthroned between St. Francis and St. Vincent Ferrer (no.85). *Hermitage Museum. 15th century*

Pl. 181. Detail of pl. 180





Pl. 182. Detail of pl. 180



Pl. 183. Nikolaos Tzafouris. *The Way to Galvary* (detail). *New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art.*
Second half of the 15th century.



Pl. 184. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.84). Mytilene. Petra. Church of St. George. 15th century.



Pl. 185. The Virgin Madre della Consolazione (no.84). Mytilene. Petra. Church of St. George. 15th century.



Ill.1. The Virgin Glykophilousa. Monastery of Mt. Sinai. *End of the 15th century.*



Ill.2. The Virgin Glykophilousa. Moscow. Pushkin Museum. 14th century



Ill.3a. The London Psalter add.19.352. f 92v. Adoration of the Magi.

Ill.3b. The Flight into Egypt (detail from an icon of the Nativity). Monastery of Mt. Sinai. 12th century.



Ill.4a. The Flight into Egypt. St. Mark. Baptistery. *Beginning of the 14th century.*

Ill.4b. The Flight into Egypt. Carved stone relief. Venice. St. Mark. *End of the 13th century.*



Ill.5. The Virgin Glykophilousa. Monastery of Mt. Sinai. *Late 13th - early 14th century.*



Ill.6. The Flight into Egypt. Marble relief. *Berlin Museum*. 13th-14th century.



III.7. Angelos. The Virgin "H KAPΔIOTHCA". Athens. Byzantine Museum. *Second quarter of the 15th century.*



Ill.8. The Virgin Glykophilousa. Hermitage Museum. Likhachev collection. 15th century.



III.9. The Virgin Glykophilousa. Constantinople. Parekklesion of the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii).



Ill.10. The Virgin Glykophilousa. Hermitage Museum. Likhachev Collection. *Late 15th century.*



III.11. The Virgin Glykophilousa. Hermitage Museum. Likhachev Collection. 15th century.



Ill.12a. The Virgin Eleousa. Kastoria. St. Alypios. 14th century.

Ill.12b. David. Miniature Cod. Par.gr.139.f.2v.



Ill.13. The aged Simeon of the Presentation holding the Infant Christ in his arms (fresco).
Vrontission Monastery, 14th century.



Ill.14. Angelos. The Prophet Elijah. Naxos. Chora. Church of the Prophet Elijah. *First half of the 15th century.*



Ill.15. Angelos. The Prophet Elijah. (detail ill.14).



Ill. 16. The Virgin Pammakaristos. Athens. Byzantine Museum. *Early 16th century.*



Ill. 17. Hierarch. Meteora. Barlaam Monastery. *First half of the 16th century.*



Ill. 18. The Virgin "Reliever of Pain". Trebizond. Church of the Taxiarchs. 1390-1391.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA = Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών, Athens.
 ABME = Αρχαίον Βυζαντινών Μνημείων Ελλάδος, Athens.
 AD = Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίων, Athens.
 AE = Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς, Athens.
 ΔΧΑΕ = Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Athens.
 ΕΕΒΣ = Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών, Athens.
 ΕΕΚρΣ = Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κρητικών Σπουδών, Athens.
 Κρ.Χρ. = Κρητικά Χρονικά, Heraklion.
 ΝΕ = Νέος Ελληνομνημίων, Athens.
 ByzSl = Byzantinoslavica, Prague.
 BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Munich.
 DOP = Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington.
 JOB = Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik, Vienna-Cologne-Graz.

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